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ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL RESEARCHES  
ON PEKING AND ITS ENVIRONS.

By E. BRETSCHNEIDER, M. D.

(Continued from p. 322.)

ON THE WATER CONVEYANCES CONNECTING PEKING IN ANCIENT  
TIMES WITH THE GREAT RIVER SYSTEM OF CHINA.

EVERYBODY has heard of the *Grand Canal* of China, connecting the capital with the large rivers of the empire. The Grand Canal,—in Chinese 御河 *Yü ho* (Imperial river), also 運河 *Yün ho*, or 運糧河 *Yün-liang ho* (river for the transport of corn), has its extremities at *Peking* and at *Hang-chou fu* in Chekiang. This canal, as may be seen on the maps, has a general direction from north to south, or to the south-east; and the waters of all the rivers it meets in its course, have been made to flow in the same channel. In parts it follows for some extent the course of natural rivers; f. i. the 白河 *Pai ho* (Pei ho) and the 衛河 *Wei ho* in the north, which for a long distance form the Grand Canal. It crosses the largest rivers of China, the 黃河 *Huang ho* and the 大江 *Ta kiang* (more generally known to Europeans under the name of *Yang-tze kiang*<sup>72</sup>), and also the 淮水 *Huai shui*. In ancient times the Grand Canal was of the greatest importance to trade, and for supplying the capital with rice. But now this great watercourse has only an importance for the capital as regards its northern part, between *T'ientsin* and *Peking*; and I have been told, that owing to the carelessness of the government in keeping it in repair, it is only partly navigable south of *T'ientsin*. This would explain the extraordinary fact, that the conservative Chinese,—who do not generally adopt the great inventions of the west,

72. The latter name 揚子江 *Yang-tze kiang* is not frequently seen in Chinese books, and on Chinese maps we generally find the river termed *Ta kiang*, meaning the "Great river." I fancy *Yang-tze kiang* is only a popular name of the river near its mouth; for the first character *yang* is the ancient name of a Chinese province comprising the present Kiangsu, Chekiang and Anhui. The ancient Jesuit missionaries, who probably had not seen the name written, translated it erroneously by "Son of the Ocean" (comp. Du Halde). Marco Polo calls the *Yang-tze* the "Great River *Kian*" (l. c. vol. ii, p. 132).

—some years ago established a Chinese steam-ship company, for carrying the rice indispensable to the capital, from the southern provinces to T'ientsin.

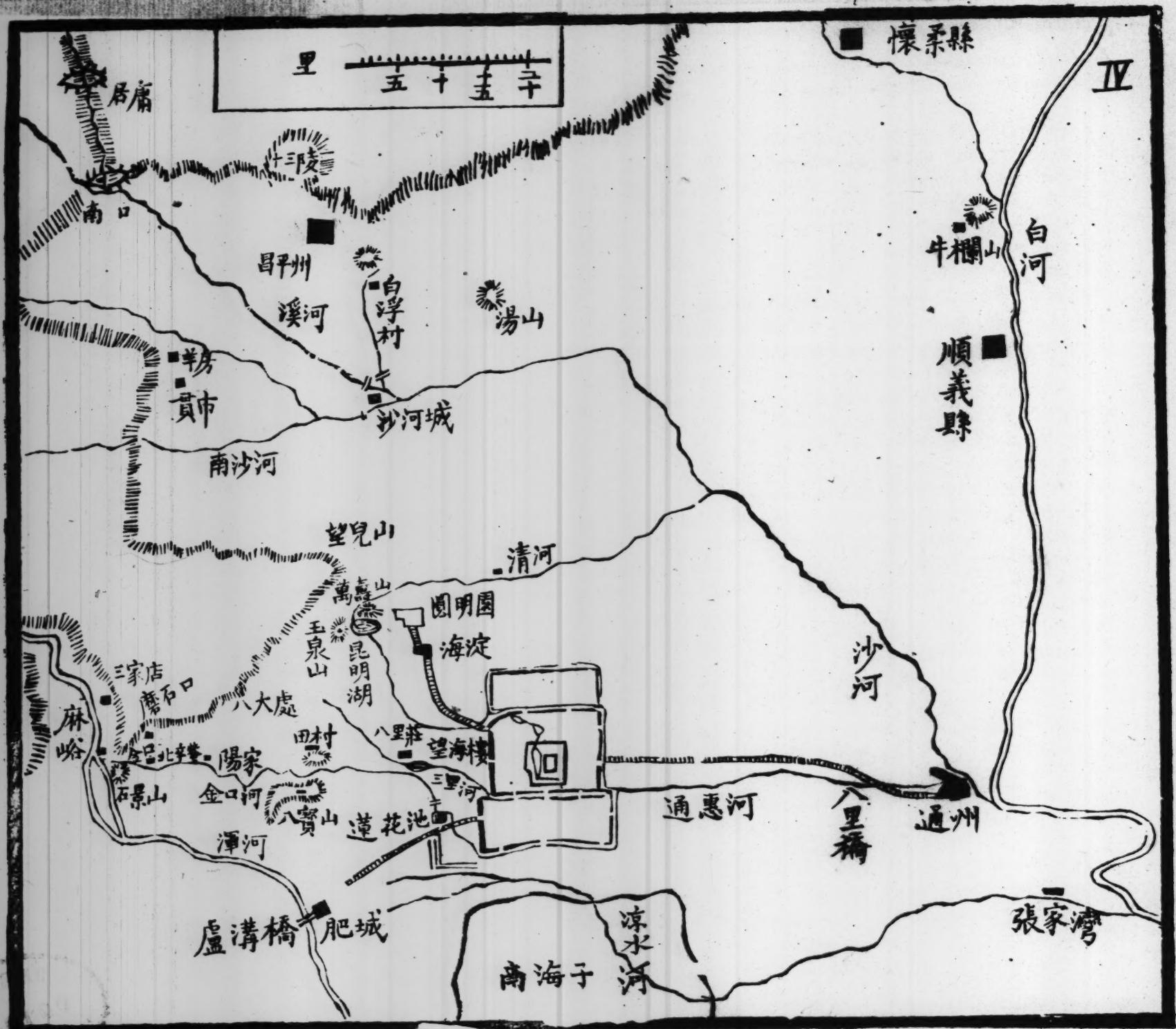
According to Father Hyacinth (*Statist. Description of China*, in Russian, vol. ii, p. 188), the part of the Grand Canal between the Yellow river and the Yang-tze kiang was constructed more than five hundred years before our era. Klaproth states (*Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, tom. iii, p. 318), that the construction of the southern part of the canal, between Chin-kiang fu and Hang-chou fu, dates from the beginning of the 7th century of our era. It is generally believed that Coubiläi khan first constructed the northern part of the Grand Canal, connecting Peking with the Yellow river (Klaproth, l. c.). But, as can be proved from ancient Chinese works, water conveyance between Peking and the provinces south of the capital existed much earlier; and it seems, since Peking had become an imperial residence, the emperors had taken care to connect the capital by water with the provinces rich in corn. As to the *Liao*, who first made Peking a capital, the dominions of that dynasty spread to the south only as far as 200 *li* beyond Peking. But according to the *Ti king king wu hio* (*Ji hia*, chap. xciv, fol. 1), in the time of the empress *Siao* (see above, note 23), there was a *Yün-liang ho*, or river for the transport of corn, leading to the capital. I observe that the *Hun ho* river as well as the *Pai ho*, from their sources to their mouths belonged to the *Liao* empire. The *Kin*, who superseded the *Liao*, A. D. 1115, succeeded in enlarging their dominions to the south as far as the *Huai* river. In the *Kin shi*, or "History of the *Kin*," we find a detailed description of a canal connecting the capital with the provinces of *Ho-pei* and *Shan-tung* (see note 78).

Before entering into particulars regarding the ancient canal system of northern China, I may be allowed to say a few words about the present water system of the Peking plain; for the watercourses there have much changed since those ancient times; or I should rather say, the rivers have reverted to their original channels, after having been forced for a long time to send their waters to the capital.

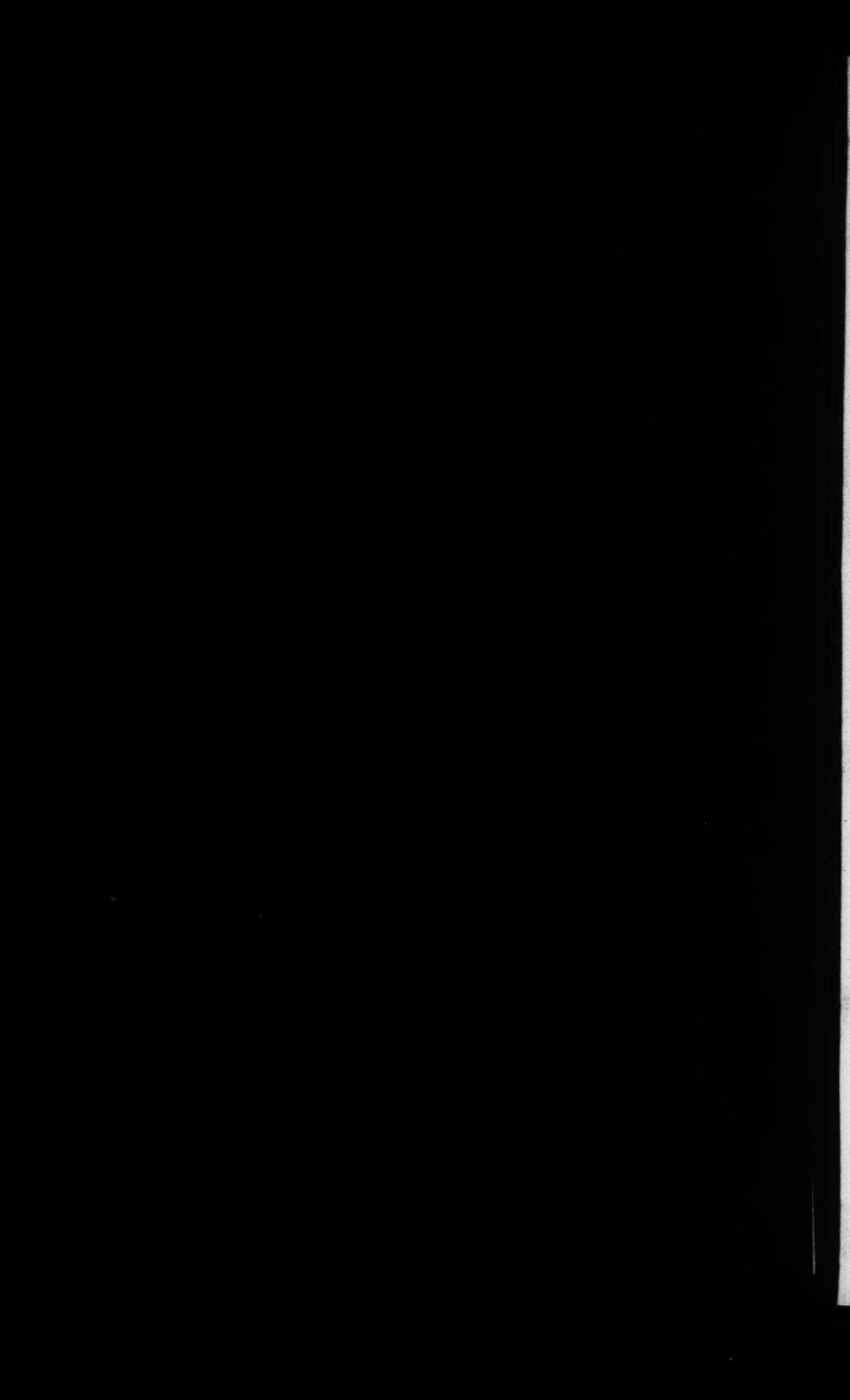
The plain is irrigated by two rivers and their affluents. The 混河 *Hun ho* (muddy river), after emerging from the western mountains, passes about seven English miles west of Peking. The 白河 *Pai ho* ("White river:"—on our maps the name is generally written *Pe ho*), which comes from the north, is at the nearest point (*T'ung chou*) thirteen English miles distant from the capital. The *Hun ho* discharges itself into the *Pai ho* near T'ientsin; where also the *Wei* river from the south, or the Grand Canal, unites its waters with those of the *Pai ho*.

One of the principal tributaries of the *Pai ho* from the west is the









**沙河** *Sha ho* (Sand river).—This river is composed of a number of smaller streams, the sources of which lie in the northern and western mountains. These confluent streams are often exhausted during the dry season. The most important of them are known under the names of **南沙河** *Nan sha ho*, and **北沙河** *Pei sha ho* (Southern and Northern Sha ho), the latter is termed also **溪河** *K'i ho* on Chinese maps. The large village of *Sha-ho*, and the ruins of an ancient city of the same name are situated in the angle, where the Pei sha ho and Nan sha ho unite. A third confluent coming from the north, from a hill north of the village of **白浮** *Po-fou*, discharges itself into the Pei sha ho near the same place. Three ancient stone bridges span the three rivers.<sup>73</sup> The great highway from Peking to Kalgan passes through the village of Sha-ho. Compare map iv.

Further on in its course, the Sha ho receives the river **清河** *Ts'ing ho*, which issues from the lake **昆明湖** *K'un-ming hu*, near the summer palaces. The Sha ho finally empties itself into the Pai ho, a little east of T'ung chou; but before entering the Pai-ho, it receives from the west the waters coming from the capital.

The irrigation of Peking is effected now in the following manner. Five or six miles to the north-west of the capital is the above-mentioned lake *K'un-ming hu*, around which the summer palaces are situated. It may be four miles or more in circuit, and is filled by some copious springs on the adjacent hill **玉泉山** *Yü-ts'üan shan*. A canal has been conducted from this lake to Peking. The water arrives at the north-western corner of the capital, and expands near the bridge **高梁橋** *Kao-liang k'iao* (see map i) into a little reservoir, from which one part issues to supply the moat of Peking, while another part enters the Tartar city and forms a large reservoir, extending from the northern wall of Peking to the northern wall of the Imperial city. These reservoirs are called **積水潭** *Tsi-shui t'an*<sup>74</sup> (meaning reservoir). Further on the water has been introduced by a canal into the Imperial city, where it expands again and forms the lake *T'ai-yi chi* already mentioned. After flowing through the prohibited city, the water issues from it in the south-eastern corner. The canal passes before the British legation, and running southward, passes through the southern city wall, where it discharges its water into the southern moat of the Tartar city. At the south-eastern corner of that city, near the bridge **大通橋** *Ta-t'ung k'iao* (see map i), all the water passing through and around Peking unites and forms the beginning of the Grand Canal. This part of the canal, running straight to *T'ung chou* (40 li

73. One of these stone bridges is stated in the *Chang an k'o hua*, chap. iv, fol. 30, to have been constructed between A. D. 1436 and 1450.

74. They are mentioned under the same name in the history of the Mongol dynasty.

east of Peking), is known to Europeans under the name of *T'ung-chou canal*, but it is called 大通河 *Ta-t'ung ho*, or 通惠河 *T'ung-hui ho* by the Chinese, and was known by the latter name as early as the 13th century.

Besides the lake *K'un-ming hu*, the *T'ung-chou* canal receives water from two other sources.

At the south-western corner of the Tartar city, the small river 三里河 *San-li ho*, discharges itself into the moat. It commences at the present day  $1\frac{1}{2}$  English mile north-west of that place, at a little lake named from the 望海樓 *Wang-hai lou*. On the border of the lake there is an imperial palace, and a pleasure ground called 鈎魚臺 *Tiao-yü t'ai* (Terrace for angling). There was an imperial pleasure ground there as early as the 12th century (*Ji hia*, chap. xcv, fol. 7). I remember the time, when the Peking races took place in the dry bed of this lake. But during the last four or five years it has been filled with water again. We shall see further on, that the *San-li ho* was an important river in ancient times, and passed between the Mongol capital and the ancient capital of the Kin.

Proceeding on the stone road from the gate *Chang-yi men* (of the Chinese city), about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  *li* to the south-west, we see to the right a square rampart, about 4 *li* in circuit. It encloses a pond called 蓮花池 *Lien-hua ch'i* (Lotus pond) by the Chinese. The water issuing from it runs to the south-east, discharges into the moat of the Chinese city, and thus also reaches the *T'ung-chou* canal near the bridge *Tat'ung k'iao*. It seems that in ancient times, the water from the Lotus pond flowed through the capital of the Kin.

Below *T'ung-chou* the *Pai ho* receives from the west the water of the river 凉水 *Liang shui*. This river is formed by two confluent streams, which take rise in the marshes south-west of the Chinese city. The northern one, as we have seen, formed in ancient time, the southern moat of the Kin capital. The two rivers unite south of the Chinese city; the water then enters the park *Nan-hai-tzzi*, issues from it through its eastern wall, and reaches the *Pai ho* near the village of 張家灣 *Chang-kia wan*.

After this short sketch of the watercourses in the Peking plain, let me show what the ancient Chinese books record regarding the water conveyances leading to Peking.

In the history of the Kin dynasty, a whole chapter is devoted to the description of the rivers and canals of the empire (*Kin shi*, chap. xxvii, 河渠). Under the heads of 漕渠 (Canal for the transport of corn) and 廬蒲河 (the same as the *Hun ho*, as we shall see further on), I find the following statements:—

“*Yen* (the capital of the Kin:—see above), is distant from the 濬

水 *Lu shui*<sup>76</sup> 50 li. The 高良河 *Kao-liang ho*,<sup>76</sup> and the water of the 白蓮潭 *Po-lien t'an* (Pool of the White Lotus<sup>77</sup>), have been employed for the canal (leading to the *Lu shui*). Sluices have been established; by means of which it is possible to reach by water the provinces of Shantung and 河北 *Ho-pei*.<sup>78</sup> At the cities situated on this water-way granaries have been established; so that the corn can arrive at the capital by water." I omit the detailed description of the water communications of the capital with the provinces south of it; and will only say, that from the rivers and cities named, it may be concluded, that the principal watercourse at the time of the Kin was by the *Pai ho*, and the 衛河 *Wei ho* which discharges itself into the *Pai ho* near Tientsin. Thus the Grand Canal,—said to have been first constructed by the Mongols,—existed for the greater part before the Mongols arrived; at least it is certain, that the principal Transport canal of the Kin between the capital and *Lin-ts'ing chou* (on the *Wei* river), followed the same course as that of the Grand Canal at the present day.

The *Kin shi* states further, that between *T'ung chou* and the capital there were some difficulties in the navigation; *T'ung chou* being too elevated with respect to the capital. The water therefore flowed down very slowly, and the canal was often obstructed by mud. In the year A. D. 1170, a proposition was made to the emperor to introduce water from the *Lu-kou* river (the *Hun ho*,—see above), into the Transport canal. It had been ascertained, that the 金口 *Kin k'ou*,<sup>79</sup> was 140 feet higher than the capital; and by this means a more rapid current might be expected for the Transport canal. The emperor was much delighted by this project, and orders were given for its execution. A canal was dug from the *Kin k'ou* to the northern moat of the capital, whence it was conducted to the *Lu* river. It reached the river north (probably a misprint for south) of *T'ung chou*. The whole work was finished in fifty days. But the result did not answer the expectation. Sometimes the water ran too rapidly and the embankments fell down; at other times the water deposited much mud and formed sands. In A. D. 1175, the *Lu kou* river broke through the

75. *Lu shui* is the ancient name of the *Pai ho*. In the *Yüan shi*, chap. Ixiv, art. *Pai ho*, it is stated:—"There are three rivers important for the Transport canal, the 白河 *Pai ho*, the 榆河 *Yü ho* and the 漢河 *Hun ho*. These rivers unite and then take the name of 潞水 *Lu shui*." In works anterior to the *Yüan shi* however, the *Pai ho*, is always termed *Lu shui*.

76. *Kao-liang ho*, an ancient river somewhere near the present *Si-chi men*; at least the bridge near this gate is still called *Kao-liang k'iao*.

77. Perhaps the same as the above-mentioned *Lotus pond*, west of the Chinese city.

78. The province of *Ho-pei* at the time of the Kin, comprised the southern part of the present *Chi-li*, a part of *Shantung*, and the portion of the present *Honan* situated north of the Yellow river.

79. *Kin k'ou* is still the name for the passage north of the 石景山 *Shi-kiang shan*, an isolated hill near the place where the *Hun ho* emerges into the plain.

embankments near the village of 上陽村 *Shang-yang ts'un* (Upper village of *Yang*).

In the annals of the *Kin shi*, under the year 1186 it is stated, that one of the ministers drew the attention of the emperor to the fact, that the *Kin k'ou* being 140 feet higher than the capital, there would be great danger if an inundation should happen. He proposed to shut up the canal (connecting with the *Lu kou* river); to which the emperor agreed.

In the *Yüan shi*, chap. clxiv, Biography of *Kuo Shou-king*,<sup>80</sup> it is recorded that in the year A. D. 1265, this high officer made the following report to the emperor:—"At the time of the *Kin* there was a canal led off from the *Hun ho* eastward. It began at the village of 麻峪 *Ma-yü*,<sup>81</sup> and passed through the *Kin k'ou*. Its water irrigated the fields north of *Yen king* (the capital of the *Kin*) to an extent of nearly 1000 *k'ing*.<sup>82</sup> But owing to a war which had broken out, the canal was shut up at *Kin k'ou* with big stones. *Kuo Shou-king* now proposed to open this canal again, in order that the environs of the capital should enjoy the benefit of the water. But to prevent the danger which might arise from sudden freshets, he formed a project to dig another canal to the south-west, which should turn around the *Hun ho*." According to the *Yüan shi*, Annals, this project was executed in 1266, and the opened canal (to the capital) was afterwards used for carrying stones and wood (from the western hills). But as we shall see further on, this canal was shut up again, owing to heavy inundations threatening the capital, at the end of the 13th century.

Let me show what the *Yüan shi* reports concerning the *T'ung-hui ho*, or as we call it, the *T'ung-chou* canal, connecting Peking with *T'ung chou* (see *Yüan shi*, chap. lxiv, on the water systems,—and clxiv, Biography of *Kuo Shou-king*):—

"The 通惠河 *T'ung-hui ho* takes its rise from the 白浮 *Po-fou* springs and those of the 豐山 *Weng shan*. In the year 1291, the inspector general of the water conveyances, *Kuo Shou-king*, received orders to unite the rivers (in the neighborhood of Peking), and utilize their water for navigation. *Kuo Shou-king* made a proposal to dig a canal from *T'ung chou* to the capital (it is not clearly stated whether a new canal), and to use the water of the *Hun ho* only for irrigating the fields (he speaks evidently of the *Hun ho* canal, opened in 1266). He proposed to lead fresh water into the ancient bed of the 長河 *Ch'a*

80. 鄭守敬 *Kuo Shou-king*, the celebrated engineer of Coubilai khan, especially famed for the gigantic water-works he executed. He constructed also the Grand Canal.

81. *Ma-yü* is still the name of a village situated on the left bank of the *Hun ho*, north of the *Shi-king shan* and near the *Kin k'ou*.

82. A 頃 *k'ing* is = 100 務 *mou*. 6.6 *mou* = 1 English acre.

ho.<sup>83</sup> The fresh water was led off from the springs on the hill 神山 *Shen shan* near the village 白浮 *Po-fou*, belonging to 昌平縣 *Ch'ang-p'ing hien* (now *Ch'ang-p'ing chou*).<sup>84</sup> The canal went at first westward and then turned to the south, crossed the rivers 雙塔河 *Shuang-t'a ho* and 榆河 *Yü ho*,<sup>85</sup> and passing the springs 一畝泉 *Yi-mu ts'üan* and 玉泉 *Yü ts'üan*<sup>86</sup> (carrying their waters along), ran through the 豐山泊 *Weng-shan* lake,<sup>87</sup> and reached the capital near the western gate. The canal entered the city, formed a reservoir to the south called 積水潭 *Tsi-shui t'an*,<sup>88</sup> ran to the south-east (through the capital), and issued east of the gate 文明門 *Wen-ming men*.<sup>89</sup> Further on it entered the ancient Transport canal,<sup>90</sup> reached the village of 高麗莊 *Kao-li chuang* belonging to *T'ung chou*,<sup>91</sup> and finally discharged itself into the 白河 *Pai ho*. The length of the whole canal from the *Shen shan* to *T'ung chou* was 164 *li* and 104 *pu*. The work was begun in spring 1292 and finished next year in autumn, nineteen thousand soldiers having been employed on it. The canal was named *T'ung-hui*, being very useful for the transport of corn." The *Yüan shi* then enumerates all the sluices of the canal. One was outside the 和義門 *Ho-yi men* (answering to the present *Si-chi men* gate:—see map 1), at the distance of one *li* to the north-west; the next was at the *Ho-yi men* itself. One sluice was inside the city, at the 海子 *Hai-tze* (the lake near the palace); one was outside of 麗正門 *Li-cheng men*, to the south-east of the water-gate (through the wall) of the canal; the next, one *li* to the south-west of *Wen-ming men*; the next, one *li* to the south-east of it; the next, one *li* further to the east. Four sluices are

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83. Literally the "River provided with sluices." He means probably the river, or canal, carrying the water from the *K'un-ming* lake to the capital.

84. The village *Po-fou* still exists south-east of *Ch'ang-p'ing chou*. My friend Dr. von Möllendorff, of the German Legation, has visited the place, and I am indebted to him for some information regarding it. North of the village is an isolated hill (probably the *Shen shan* of the *Yüan shi*) from which a river comes down and runs to the south, discharging itself into the *Pei sha ho*, near the village of *Sha-ho* (see map iv).

85. Further on the *Yüan shi* states, that the *Shuang-t'a ho* is an affluent of the *Yü ho*. The *Ji hia*, chap. cxxxiv, fol. 18, identifies the *Yü ho* with the *Pei sha ho* (see above).

86. The *Yü ts'üan* is the water coming out from the hill 玉泉山 *Yü-ts'üan shan* (see map iv).

87. *Weng-shan* is the original name of the hill situated north of the lake *K'un-ming hu*, better known now under the name of 萬壽山 *Wan-shou shan*. The *Weng-shan* lake, the same as the *K'un-ming* lake of our days, is called 七里灣 *Ts'i-li wan* (the beach of seven *li*) in the *Ch'un wing meng yü lu* (*Ji hia*, chap. lxxxix, fol. 9).

88. The reservoir has the same name at the present time.

89. The *Wen-ming* gate answers to the *Ha-ta men* of modern Peking. "East of the gate" is a misprint for "west;" for it results from the enumeration of the sluices the *Yüan shi* gives further on, that the canal issued west of the *Wen-ming* gate, as it does now.

90. 入蓄運糧河. It seems that the Transport canal of the Kin from the capital to *T'ung chou*, was the same as the *T'ung-hui ho* of the *Yüan*, and that the Mongols only repaired the canal of the *Kin*.

91. I inquired in *T'ung chou* about *Kao-li chuang*. It seems that no village of this name exists at the present time.

enumerated on the canal leading from the capital to T'ung chou. It is stated that the canal passed through T'ung chou (as at present), —that it entered near the western gate, and issued near the southern. As I have shown, the T'ung-chou canal does not now flow directly into the *Pai ho*, but discharges itself into the *Sha ho*, which at a short distance more to the east enters the *Pai ho*.

The reader will observe in comparing my maps representing modern Peking, its environs, and the present canal and river system, that the course of the water running from the lake *K'un-ming hu* through Peking to T'ung chou, has not changed since the time of the Mongols. But the canal from the *Po-fou* sources to the *K'un-ming hu* does not exist at the present time, and the rivers, the water of which had been introduced into it, have taken their original direct course to the *Pai ho*. The *Ji hia*, chap. lxxxix, fol. 7, quotes an author of the Ming, who states, that since the Mongol period the course of the rivers has changed, and that the canal leading water from the north to the lake (*K'un-ming hu*), has been obstructed north of the *Weng-shan* (*Wan-shou shan* :—see above).

It is not without interest to compare these ancient Chinese statements as above related, with what Rashid-eddin reports regarding the Transport canal connecting Khanbaligh with the principal cities of China (Yule's *Cathay*, vol. ii, pp. 258,259) :—

“Two important rivers pass by Khanbaligh and *Daidu*. After coming from the direction of the Kaan's summer residence in the north, and flowing near *Jamjal*, they unite to form another river.<sup>92</sup> A very large basin, like a lake in fact, has been dug near the city and furnished with a slip for launching pleasure boats. The river had formerly another channel, and discharged itself into the gulf of the ocean, which penetrated within a short distance of Khanbaligh. But in the course of time this channel had become so shallow as not to admit the entrance of shipping, so that they had to discharge their cargoes and send them up to Khanbaligh on pack-cattle. And the Chinese engineers and men of science having reported that the vessels from the provinces of Cathay, from the capital of *MACHIN* (Canton, according to Yule), and from cities of *KHINGSAI* (*Hang-chou fu*) and *ZAITON* (without doubt *Ts'üan-chou fu*) no longer could reach the metropolis, the

92. Rashid-eddin's accounts regarding the rivers is a little confused, and it is difficult to say which of the rivers of the Peking plain he means. The 北沙河 *Pei sha ho* or 溪河 *K'i ho* comes down from the defile of 居庸 *Kü-yung*, where the direct way to *Shang-tu*, the summer residence of the Mongol khans, passed through. *Jamjal* therefore may be identified with the defile of *Kü-yung*. In the Mongol text of the *Yuan ch'ao pi shi*, written in 1240 (see my *Notes on Chinese Mediaeval Travellers*, p. 110), this defile is repeatedly mentioned and always termed *Jahjal*. I may observe, that Rashid in rendering the Chinese name for the summer residence *K'ai-p'ing fu* spells the name *K'ai-min fu*, thus substituting there also an *m* for a *p*.

Khan gave them orders to dig a great canal, into which the waters of the said river and of several others should be introduced. This canal extends for a distance of forty days' navigation from Khanbaligh to Khingsai and Zaitun. .... The canal is provided with many sluices intended to distribute the water over the country. ...."

We have seen, that a part of the water of the *Hun ho* had been conducted in the time of the Kin, to the capital and into the Transport canal, and that the *Hun-ho* canal had afterwards been shut up, but had been opened again during the reign of Coubilaï, who in 1298 gave orders to shut it again, owing to inundations threatening the capital. In the middle of the 14th century the *Hun ho* question was brought upon the *tapis* once more. The *Ji hia* (chap. civ, fol. 17), quotes the following statements from the *Yüan shi* regarding this subject:—

"In the year A. D. 1342, one of the ministers proposed to the emperor to dig a new canal, 50 feet deep and 20 feet broad, from the village of *Kao-li chuang*, south of *T'ung chou* (see note 91), to the *Kin k'ou* (see note 79) in the Western mountains, and to remove the iron lock by which the ancient canal had been shut up. The distance between the *Kin k'ou* and the village of *Kao-li chuang*, where the canal had to reach the *Yü ho* (Imperial canal), he reckoned 120 *li*.<sup>93</sup> This proposition was discussed in the council of ministers and many objections were made. One of them recalled to mind the fact, that in the year 1298, owing to great inundations caused by the *Hun ho* and the consequent danger to the capital, the canal had been shut up. But notwithstanding these objections the emperor ordered the digging of the projected canal to be executed; the *Kin k'ou* was opened and the whole work finished in four months. The result was unsatisfactory however; for the water deposited much mud and the boats could not go. At other times inundations caused mischief."

The authenticity of the ancient Chinese statements above translated, regarding the diversion of a part of the water of the *Hun ho* to the capital of the Kin in the 12th century, can be easily proved by local observation. A few weeks ago I undertook, in company with my friend Dr. von Moellendorff, to search for the traces of this channel. Although only guided by the ancient description, we had no difficulty in finding the bed, and also the villages mentioned in the ancient accounts; for they have preserved the same names up to this time.

At a distance of about 40 *li*, straight west of the *P'ing-tse* men

93. Evidently the principal object in view was to introduce a large quantity of water into the Transport canal.

(one of the western gates of the capital), just at the place where the Hun ho emerges from the mountains into the plain, there is on the left bank of the river, an isolated hill 470 English feet high, which is known under the name of 石景山 *Shi-king shan*. It is crowned by an ancient monastery, and picturesque ruins are scattered about on its slopes, dating partly from the time of the Kin; but for the greater part the construction of these palace buildings is attributed to the Ming emperors. The western side of the Shi-king shan forms a steep precipice down to the Hun ho. To the north, the hill is separated by a deep depression from the last spur of the mountain chain, following the left bank of the river. This passage, about half a *li* broad, is not more than 40 or 50 feet above the level of the Hun ho. It is still called by its ancient name 金口 *Kin k'ou* (Golden defile). The village 麻峪 *Ma-yü*, mentioned by the ancient authors as the starting point of the channel, lies near the western entrance of it, on the left bank of the river. It was easy for us to detect here the dried-up bed of the channel, passing through the *Kin k'ou*, and shut up by a solid dike just as is reported in the ancient accounts. One of the roads leading from Peking to the coal mines in the Western mountains, passes over this dike. Even the safety channel, dug in 1265, which turned around the Hun ho to the south-west to prevent the danger which might arise to the capital from sudden freshets (see above), still exists. (Compare map IV.)

We had not the slightest difficulty in pursuing the course of the ancient Hun-ho channel, which is known to the people under the name of 金口河 *Kin-k'ou ho* (river from the *Kin k'ou*), from *Kin k'ou* down to the western precincts of Peking. The dry bed of the channel, now used almost throughout its whole extent for agricultural purposes, is lined by solid embankments from 15 to 20 feet high. It has a width of about 120 English feet, and has not been dug in a straight line, but crosses the plain in numerous windings. The reason of this disposition is easily understood. The ancient engineers tried by this way to diminish the rapid current; for *Kin k'ou* is according to ancient measurements 140 feet higher than Peking. To introduce the water of the Hun ho into the dry bed again would present no difficulty.

After quitting *Kin k'ou*, the channel passes south of the large village of 北辛庵 *Pei-sin an*, and pursuing its course to the east, we meet on its northern bank the village of 陽家莊 *Yang-kia chuang* (village of the Yang family). I have little doubt, that this is the same place mentioned in the ancient records under the name of 上陽村 *Shang yang-č'un* (upper village of Yang) as having been damaged in A.D. 1175, by an inundation caused by the waters of the Hun-ho channel

(see above). Thence the channel runs eastward, and passes between the group of hills rising in the western Peking plain, and known under the name of 八寶山 *Pa-pao shan* (on one of the hills there is a monastery of this name). The course of the channel lies one *li* and more south of the large village of 田村 *T'ien-ts'un*, well known to all Europeans in Peking; for it is situated on the road to the temples of 八大處 *Pa-ta-ch'u*, the summer residence of the British Legation. Further on, the channel passes near the lake of *Wang-hai-lou* (or *Tiao-yü-t'ai*), mentioned above, but does not communicate with it. Perhaps they were in connection in ancient times. The lake in its present form is a creation of the emperor Kien-lung in the last century; but as I have stated above, at the time of the Kin dynasty there was a lake and a pleasure ground at the same place.

The course of the ancient channel from the last-named place downward requires further investigation; for its traces become uncertain, owing to numerous ravines occurring in the country, and caused by the cart-roads converging towards the capital. Besides this, numerous villages and farms have effaced the traces of the channel. Nevertheless I have little doubt that from *Wang-hai-lou* it turned (one branch at least) to the south-east, and went to the marsh called *Lien-hua ch'i*, "Lotus pond" (see above). There is near this marsh a stone bridge (evidently not of very ancient date) over the ravine, which I suppose to have been the bed of the *Hun-ho* channel. As I have shown in another chapter of this paper, the north-western corner of the ancient Kin capital must have been situated near this place. We have seen also, that according to the ancient authors, the *Hun-ho* channel had been conducted into the northern moat of that capital.

I did not pursue my investigations regarding the bed of the ancient channel in its course east of Peking. The Chinese annals record, that it had been led into the river *Pai ho* at a place south of *T'ung chou* called *Kao-li chuang* (see above).

At the time Marco Polo was in Peking the *Hun-ho* channel was supplied with water; for as has been stated above, Coubilai khan gave orders to open the ancient channel dug by the Kin. It was only in 1298 (after Polo's departure) that it was shut up again.

M. Polo states (l.c. vol. i, p. 331), that the Great Kaan caused Kambaluc to be built close beside the old city (of the Kin) with only a river between them. I do not think that the traveller could have meant the *Hun-ho* channel. There is a strong probability that he speaks of the 文明河 *Wen-ming ho*, a river which according to the ancient descriptions ran near the southern wall of the Mongol capital.

The *Ch'un ming meng yü lu* (cf. *Ji hia*, chap. iv, fol. 2), published under the Ming dynasty, states:—"The river 三里河 *San-li ho*

was called 文明河 *Wen-ming ho* in the time of the Yüan. It was used for the transport of corn, and was in connection with the (principal) Transport canal." At the time the author wrote (first half of the 17th century) an ancient iron lock could still be seen in the river.

Further particulars regarding the *San-li ho* may be found in the *Ji hia*, chap. iv, fol. 3. I will not translate these accounts, but confine myself to mentioning that traces of a river bed can still be found in the Chinese city, north of the temples of Heaven and of Agriculture. The authors of the Ming mention the *San-li ho* or *Wen-ming ho* south of the southern wall of the capital. I may observe, that one of the southern gates of the Mongol capital was called *Wen-ming men*. Probably the name was drawn from the name of the river.

The name of *San-li ho* is now applied only to the river which issues from the lake of Wang-hai-lou and discharges into the moat of Peking at the south-western corner of the Tartar city (see map iv; and *Ji hia*, chap. xcv, fol. 7).

We may conclude, that in ancient times the river passed between Khanbaligh and the Kin capital, and then took a south-eastern direction.

The preceding four maps are intended to render more intelligible the ancient accounts regarding the Chinese capital.

No. i. represents modern Peking and the position of the ancient ramparts found in its neighborhood. On this map only such names are marked as appear in my article; and I have indicated none of the ancient names. On the square to the left, the reader will find the Chinese names of the eleven gates of the Mongol capital, as enumerated by ancient authors.

No. ii. represents the palace and the palace grounds of the present dynasty.

In No. iii. I have attempted to draw up a plan of the Mongol palaces, according to the Chinese descriptions; but these descriptions not being always very explicit, I have been obliged in some cases to fill in. The reader, in comparing the map with the descriptions however, will easily understand what I have presumed to add.

No. iv. represents the environs of Peking, and shows especially the water-courses in the Peking plain in our day.

#### THE BRIDGE LU-KOU K'IAO AND THE HUN HO OR SANG-KAN RIVER, WITH THE ROAD TO SHANG-TU.

About seven English miles south-west of Peking is the celebrated stone bridge 盧溝橋 *Lu-kou k'iao*, one of the eight wonders of the capital (see note 20), leading over the *Hun ho*.<sup>94</sup> All the great roads from the provinces leading to the capital pass by this bridge. It is the only stone bridge spanning the *Hun ho*; and as the water of this river in the rainy season often rises considerably, the bridge is of the greatest importance for the communication. A splendid road,

94. The Chinese estimate the distance between the Chang-yi gate and the bridge generally at 25 *li*; the Chinese Merchant's Guide has 30 *li*; but both figures are too high, the distance not being more than 21 *li*.

paved with large square stones has been constructed from the Chang-*yi* men towards the bridge, but does not reach it. Several *li* before arriving at the river it finishes with a beautiful triumphal arch or gateway, erected by the emperor Kien-lung in the last century. The traveller meets on this road, at all seasons of the year, large caravans of camels laden with coals carried from the Western mountains. Before arriving at the bridge the small walled city of 拱極城 *Kung-ki cheng* is passed. This was founded in the first half of the 17th century (*Ji hia*, chap. xcii, fol. 13). The people generally call it 肥城 *Fei ch'eng*.

Marco Polo in his narrative, devotes a chapter to the Lu-kou k'iao (Yule, l. c. vol. ii, p. 1). The bridge has often been spoken of by the commentators of the great traveller; and besides some Chinese accounts of the bridge known in Europe from translations, it has repeatedly been mentioned by European travellers of past centuries. But as these accounts are not always in accordance, I undertook a short time ago to repair to the bridge with the view of investigating it, and now give the following description. The bridge is 350 ordinary paces long and 18 broad. It is built of sandstone, and has on either side a stone balustrade of square columns, about 4 feet high, 140 on each side, each crowned by a sculptured lion over a foot high. Beside these there are a number of smaller lions placed irregularly on the necks, behind the legs, under the feet, or on the back of the larger ones.<sup>95</sup> The space between the columns is closed by stone slabs. Four sculptured stone elephants lean with their foreheads against the edge of the balustrades. The bridge is supported by eleven arches.<sup>96</sup> At each end of the bridge two pavilions with yellow roofs have been built, all with large marble tablets in them; two with inscriptions made by order of the emperor Kang-hi (1662-1723); and two with inscriptions of the time of Ki'en-lung (1736-1796). On these tablets the history of the bridge is recorded. Compare also *Ji hia*, chaps. xcii and xciii. Previous to the 13th century there were only wooden bridges over the Hun ho. A Chinese traveller, who went from the south to Peking in 1123,<sup>97</sup> gives the following statement:—

“We left Liang-hiang hien (this city still bears the same name) and after 30 *li* arrived at the Lu-kou river (the same as the Hun ho). It runs very rapidly; and in time of low water temporary bridges are laid over it (as now in winter time). Some years ago the 都水監 *Tu-shui-kien* (Inspector of the Water conveyances) made a floating bridge (浮橋) over the river, and fixed it to both banks.”

95. The Chinese say no one has ever succeeded in counting the lions on the bridge; and indeed it is difficult to count all the small lions.

96. Dr. Lockhart (see Yule, l. c., vol. ii, p. 4), counted nine arches. He is also right, for he counts only the waterways, not the arches resting upon the banks of the river.

97. 許奉使行程錄. See my *Notes on Chinese Mediæval Travellers*, p. 122.

In another work, quoted in the *Ji hia*, chap. civ, fol. 5, the destruction of the bridge by fire, in the same year, 1123, is recorded.

A stone bridge over the Hun ho was first built at the end of the 12th century by order of the Kin emperor *Ming-ch'ang*. The work was finished in five years, 1189-1192.

Under the succeeding dynasties the bridge has repeatedly been damaged by floods, and its restoration is frequently recorded in Chinese annals. But judging from the Chinese statements, it seems never to have been entirely destroyed; for the Chinese authors always speak merely of repairs.

M. Polo, who saw the bridge a hundred years after it had been built, describes it in the following terms (Yule, l. c. vol. ii, pp. 1, 2):—

“When you leave the City of Combaluc and have ridden ten miles, you come to a very large river which is called PULISANGHIN, and flows into the ocean, so that merchants with their merchandize ascend it from the sea. Over this River there is a very fine stone bridge, so fine indeed that it has very few equals. The fashion of it is this: it is 300 paces in length, and it must have a good eight paces of width, for ten mounted men can ride across it abreast. It has 24 arches and as many water-mills, and 'tis all of very fine marble, well built and firmly founded. Along the top of the bridge there is on either side a parapet of marble slabs and columns, made in this way. At the beginning of the bridge there is a marble column, and under it a marble lion, so that the column stands upon the lion's loins, whilst on the top of the column there is a second marble lion, both being of great size and beautifully executed sculpture. At the distance of a pace from this column there is another precisely the same, also with its two lions, and the space between them is closed with slabs of grey marble to prevent people from falling over into the water. And thus the columns run from space to space along either side of the bridge.”

Comparing M. Polo's account of the bridge with the description of it I have given above from my own observation, we may conclude that the ancient bridge was longer than the present; for M. Polo's paces are geometrical paces,—1 pace=5 feet (see Yule, l. c. vol. ii, p. 472). The bridge Polo saw had 24 arches, and large lions crowned the columns. It seems that at the place where the present bridge stands, the banks of the river, which is of considerable breadth have been artificially elevated and advanced from both sides in order to narrow the bed.

I have not been able to find a Chinese description of the Lu-kou bridge by an author contemporary with M. Polo. The most ancient Chinese description existing seems to be that found in the *Ch'ang an k'o hua* (end of the 16th cent.) chap. iv, fol. 14. There it is stated, that the Lu-kou k'iao is more than 200 *pu* (1000 feet) long, and that it has a

stone balustrade on the left and on the right. On the balustrade there are several hundred sculptured lions (on either side); but it is impossible to count them. Whoever tries to do so is sure to make a mistake.

I cannot say whether this author speaks of Polo's bridge. As I have stated above, the Chinese authors do not record, that the bridge built in the 12th century has ever been entirely destroyed and rebuilt. The Jesuits however, who resided at Peking in the 17th century, report that the whole bridge fell down during their sojourn in the capital. I may quote here a book of great rarity to which I have access, where the destruction of the bridge is mentioned with some particulars. *Compendiosa narratione dello stato della Missione Cinese, cominciado dall' anno 1581 fino al 1669. Offerta in Roma, &c. dal P. Prospero Intorcetta della Compagnia di Giesu, Missionario e. Procuratore della Cina.* In Roma per Fr. Fizzoni, 1672. In this book, p. 65, is the following record:—"Nel medesimo giorno 25 di Luglio 1668 rovinarono due degli archi di quel famoso ponte di Pekino, la di cui longitudine passa un terzo di un miglio, opera Reale di bianchissima pietra, molto larga, e di smisurata altezza, tanto bella alla vista per l'artificio e Mæsta, che pareva d'essere nuovamête fabricata, havendo di già compiti mille anni d'antichità. Fini doppo di rovinare tutta in Augusto, come appresso si dira."

Again on page 73:—"Finalmente in questo giorno medesimo fini di rovinare quel famoso Ponte, non molto distante dalle muraglie di Pekino, che accenai di sopra, degno veramente d'essere annoverato tra miracoli del mondo. Si ritrovò nelle rovine una grā pietra, ch' hauea scolpiti in se 4. versi di caratteri Cinese, quali si vedono qui sotto pronūciati alla Cinese.

16 xao	11 xe	6 ya	1 çie
17 çin	12 leao	7 tao	2 leam
18 si	13 nan	8 lo	3 quam
19 xan	14 lai	9 keu	4 che
20 mui	15 mi	10 kiao	5 quo

"Il senso litterale delli sudetti versi e questo:—*Passato* che sarà il *carro* di *çie leam quam* (non s'ha potuto sapere il senso di quelle tre lettere, *çie leam quam*: pare che dinotino un nome proprio di quell' uomo, ò di quella cosa, che doveva passare nel carro) rovinera questo *ponte* chiamato *Lo keu*: e si *finirà* di *mangiare il riso* che viene alla corte di *Pekino* dalle parti *Australi*: si *finirà* pure di *abbruciare il carbone* che viene alla corte dalli monti *occidentali*: fin qui il senso de versi."<sup>98</sup>

98. I shall attempt to restore the Chinese characters of the inscription Intorcetta saw, according to his indications. I do not think, that the first three characters denoted the name of a man or a thing as Intorcetta asserts.

*Magaillans*, quoted by Yule (l. c. vol. ii, pp. 3, 4, gives the 17th Aug. 1688 as the date of the destruction of the bridge.<sup>99</sup> But Intorcetta's date (1668) agrees well with the Chinese accounts. On one of the above-mentioned tablets erected near the bridge, it is recorded, that the bridge had been repaired in 1669 by order of the emperor Kang-hi. I observe that in the inscription the character 修 (to repair) is used. Thus the bridge may not have been entirely thrown down as Intorcetta states. However I leave it to the reader to decide with respect to the conflicting accounts of western and eastern authors.

The name *Pulisanghin* used by M. Polo to designate the river over which the bridge stood, has been quite satisfactorily explained by the commentators of M. Polo. Pul in Persian means "a bridge," and by *Sanghin* Polo renders the Chinese 桑乾 *Sang-kan*, by which name the river *Hun ho* is already mentioned in the 6th century of our era (*Ji hia*, chap. xcii, fol. 5). 潼河 *Hun ho* is also an ancient name; and the same river in ancient books is often called 墾溝河 *Lu-kou* river also. All these names are in use up to the present time; but on modern Chinese maps, only the upper part of the river is termed *Sang-kan ho*, whilst south of the inner Great wall, and in the plain, the name of *Hun ho* is applied to it. *Hun ho* means "Muddy river," and the term is quite suitable. In the last century the emperor K'ien-lung ordered the *Hun ho* to be named 永定河 *Yung-ting ho*, a name found on modern maps, but the people always call it *Hun ho*.

I may observe that the name *Sanghin* for the river in question is met also in Rashid-eddin's description of Khanbaligh and its environs (Yule's *Cathay*, vol. ii, p. 260). The Persian historiographer states:—"The Kaan's intention was to build a palace like that of *Daidu* at *Kai-minfu* (K'ai-ping fu or Shang-tu) which is at a distance of fifty parasangs, and to reside there. There are three roads to that place from the winter residence. The first, reserved for hunting matches, is allowed to be used only by ambassadors. The second road passes by the city of *Chuchu*, following the banks of the *Sanghin* river, where you see great plenty of grapes and other kinds of fruit. Near the city just named there is another called *SEMALI*, most of the inhabitants of which are natives of Samarkand, and have planted a number of gardens in the Samarkand style. The third road takes the direction of the pass of *Siking* (other readings:—*Sengking*,—*Sengling*), and after traversing this you find only

16 燒	11 食	6 壓	1 藉
17 盡	12 了	7 倒	2 程
18 西	13 南	8 墾	3 官
19 山	14 來	9 溝	4 車
20 煤	15 米	10 橋	5 過

99. I have not seen the original. Perhaps there is a misprint in Col. Yule's note.

prairies and plains abounding in game until you reach the city of Kaiminfu, where the summer palace is. Formerly the court used to pass the summer in the vicinity of *Chuchu*, but afterwards the neighborhood of Kaiminfu was preferred, and on the eastern side of that city a *karsı* or palace was built called *Langtin*, after a plan which the Kaan had seen in a dream, and retained in his memory (according to D'Ohsson's translation, the Kaan abandoned the palace in consequence of a dream)."

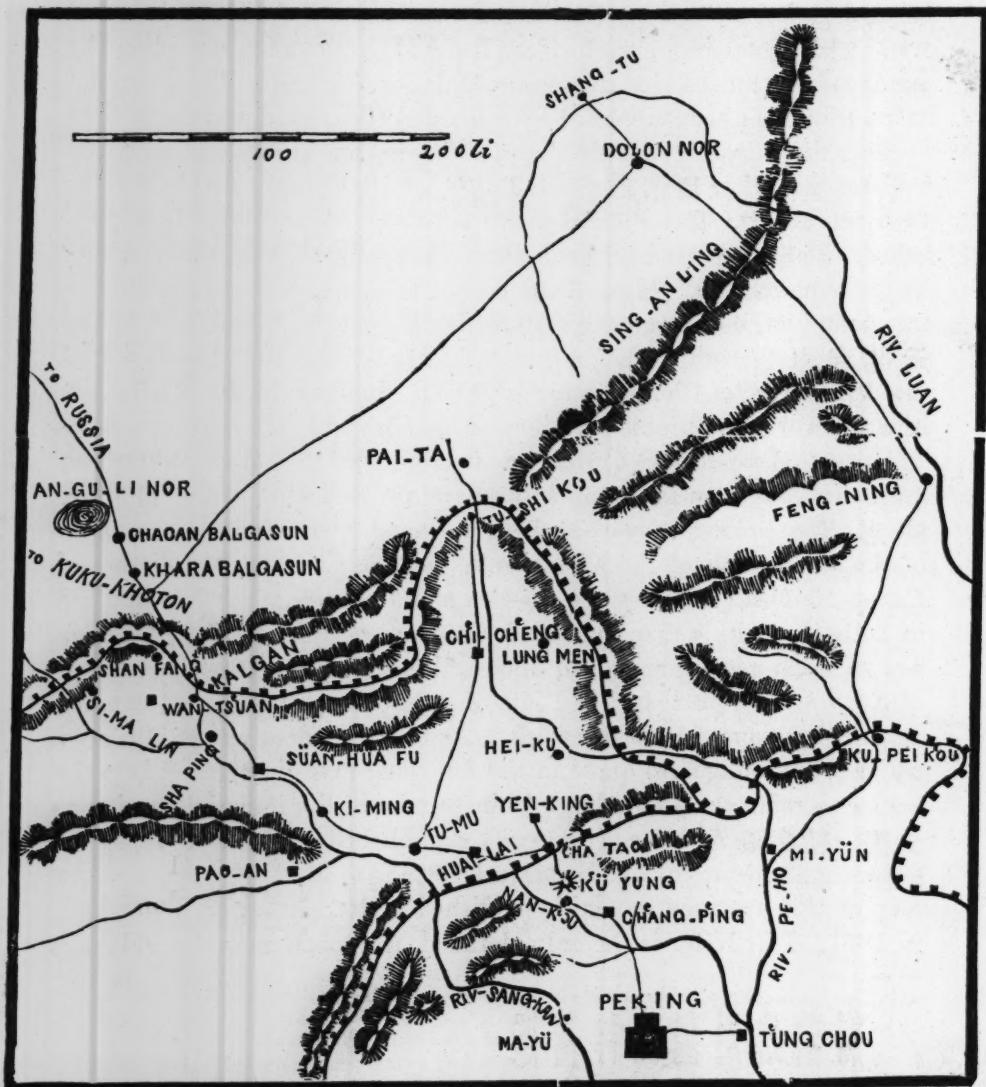
I am indebted to Archimandrite Palladius for the communication of a Chinese pamphlet (in manuscript) 元上都驛程考 *Yüan shang tu yi ch'eng k'ao*, "Researches on the stations on the roads leading from the Mongol capital to *Shang tu* (the summer residence of the Mongol emperors)," which enables me to elucidate Raschid's statements regarding the same roads, by means of contemporary Chinese documents. The pamphlet in question has been compiled by a learned Chinese of our days, from works written in the Mongol times. The author quotes especially the well-known writer 周伯琦 *Ch'ou Po-k'i*, who lived in the first half of the 14th century.<sup>100</sup> The *Yüan shang tu yi ch'eng k'ao* has never been published. Palladius received his manuscript copy from the author, whom he knew personally. Most of the matter however, brought together in this pamphlet, and arranged systematically, can be found also in the 承德府志 *Cheng te fu chi*, a geographical and historical description of the department of *Ch'eng-te fu* (or *Jehol*). In chap, lx, fol. 26-37, the itineraries of four Chinese travellers of the 13th and 14th centuries, from *Peking* to *Shang-tu* and *Caracorum* are reprinted.<sup>101</sup> Many interesting ancient accounts on the same subject are also collected in the 口北三廳志 *K'ou pei san t'ing chi*, a historical and geographical description of the land north of the Great wall, belonging to the jurisdiction of *Chang-kia-k'ou* (*Kalgan*), *Tu-shi-k'ou* and *Dolonnor*, published in 1758 in 16 books, with a map appended. Compare also the 宣化府志 *Süan hua fu chi*, a geographical and historical description of the department of *Süan hua fu*, published in 1743, in 42 books; a number of detailed maps being appended to the work. As to the modern names of places, which I am obliged to quote in the following investigations, I beg the reader to refer also to the large Chinese map of the imperial dominions 大清一統輿圖 *Ta tsing yi t'ung yü t'u*, published in *Wu-chang fu*, by the governor of the province of *Hupei* in 1863, and to *M. C. Weber's* excellent map of the province of *Chili*, published in Russian at *St. Petersburg* in 1871. This latter is the only detailed European map for this part

100. See his biography in the *Yüan shi*, chap. clxxxvii.

101. 周伯琦扈從北行前記  
周伯琦扈從北行後記  
張德輝嶺北紀行  
王輝中堂事紀

of China. Some years ago my friend *Dr. Bushell* visited the ruins of Shang-tu, and described the result of his investigations in two interesting papers read before the Royal Geographical Society, and the Royal Asiatic Society. One of these papers is accompanied by a very good map, which will also be serviceable in following my remarks. The accompanying sketch map referring to the routes to Shangtu, has only modern names of places.

## MAP V.



According to the authors of the Mongol dynasty, there were indeed, as Rashid-eddin states, *three roads* in use between *Tai-tu* (Khanbaligh) and the summer residence *Shang-tu*. The same roads still exist, and for the greater part pass by the same places as mentioned on them six hundred years ago.

The first of these roads, the shortest of all,—which went from the Mongol capital to the summer residence in a nearly straight direction and is estimated it seems, at 750 *li* by the ancient Chinese authors,—passed by the defile of 居庸 *Kü-yung* (*Nan-k'ou* pass of Europeans), which is situated to the north-west of Peking (see maps *iv* and *v*). As may be concluded from the stations enumerated in the ancient itinerary, this road went from the *Nan-k'ou* pass straight northward to the gate 獨石口 *Tu-shi-k'ou* (of the Great wall). This name, however, does not appear in the itinerary. It seems that it was not in use at the time of the Mongols. There were eighteen 納鉢 *na-bo*,<sup>102</sup> or imperial stations, on this road; so that the distance between any two stations was 42 *li* on an average. I shall in what follows, quote from the ancient itinerary such names of stations only, as can be identified with places marked on modern maps.

After issuing from the *Kü-yung* defile the road went to the city of 緡山縣 *Tsin-shan hien*, which is, according to the Chinese geographical dictionary *Li tai ti li chi*, the same as the present 延慶州 *Yen-king chou*, north of the defile.

Further on, the station 黑谷 *Hei-ku* (Black valley) is mentioned. Now there is a military post 黑谷所 *Hei-ku su*, north-east of *Yen-king* chow. See the corresponding map in the *Süan hua fu chi*.

Then the ancient way led through the 龍門 *Lung-men* (Dragon's gate). A military post of this name is marked on the same map east of the city of 赤城 *Ch'i-ch'eng*. This city, through which the road to *Tu-shi-k'ou* now passes, did not exist at the time of the *Yüan*. It was founded by the *Ming*.

I cannot identify the next five stations. The sixth is called 白塔兒 *Pai-t'a-r* (White tower). A place of this name is marked on the modern map of the Great wall, as found in the *Süan hua fu chi*, north of *Tu-shi-k'ou*.

102. According to Archimandrite Palladius' investigations, *nabo* is a *K'itan* word, and has the same meaning as the Chinese 行宮 *hing-kung*, or "imperial travelling palace (station)." On all the roads where the emperor used to travel, such small palaces had been erected for his convenience; and it is the same even now. Numerous travelling palaces or *hing-kung*, or their ruins, belonging to the time of Kang-hi or K'ien-lung, are to be found in the province of Chili. In my "Notes on Chinese Mediaeval Travellers," p. 25, I translated *hing-kung*,—which term had been identified by the traveller Ch'ang-ch'un with the Mongol *ordo*,—by "moveable palace." I would observe, that this translation is correct only with respect to Téhinguij khan's time, for the great conqueror lived in *tauta*. It was his successor Ogotai, who first built palaces.

Four stations after leaving Pai-t'a-r, the lake 察罕腦兒 *Ch'a-han nao-r* (*Chagan nor* "White lake") was reached. This lake was at a distance of three days journey (seven stations) from Shang-tu. The second station from Shang-tu, was the city of 桓州 *Huan-chou*. When the Mongol emperors went to Shang-tu for the summer, they followed the straight road, and used to return in autumn by the western road.

This straight road to Shang-tu was probably Rashid-eddin's "first, reserved for hunting matches,—allowed to be used only by ambassadors."

Let me inquire into the itinerary of the second road to Shang-tu as given by the ancient Chinese authors. This,—known under the name of "western road,"—also passed through the *Kü-yung* defile, and then branched off westward from the first described straight road. At the northern issue of the defile there is now the little town of 岔道 *Ch'a-tao*. This name means "road bifurcation;" for at this place even now the road divides; one branch leading to *Yen-king chou*, the other to *Süan-hua fu* and *Kalgan*. Up to *Süan-hua fu*, the modern road is the same as that described as the western road by the ancient authors. The western road measured 1095 *li* between the winter and summer residences.<sup>103</sup> Twenty-four stations had been established on it. The stations 懷來縣 *Huai-lai hien*, 榆林 *Yü-lin*, 狐山 *Lang-shan*, 統幕 *T'ung-mu*,<sup>104</sup> and 雞鳴山 *Ki-ming shan*, mentioned in the ancient itinerary, have still the same names, and all lie on the great highway to *Süan-hua fu*. This latter place is called 順寧府 *Shun-ning fu* in the itinerary.<sup>105</sup> Beyond *Süan-hua fu*, the modern road (by which Dr. Bushell proceeded to Shang-tu) leads straight to *Kalgan* (or 張家口 *Chang-kia-k'ou*), whilst the ancient road seems to have followed the 洋河 *Yang ho* upwards; for the next station mentioned in the itinerary is 沙嶺 *Sha-ling*, which

103. Dr. Bushell, who proceeded from Peking to Shang-tu, passing through *Süan-hua fu* and *Kalgan*, estimates the distance at only 950 *li*. But as we shall see, the ancient road went, not through *Kalgan*, but made a turn to the west. Rashid-eddin states that Shang-tu is distant from Khanbaligh 50 *parasangs*. According to D'Herbelot (*Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 504, article "Khathonat"), an (ancient) *parasang* was equal to 36,000 feet. As the Chinese *li* has 1800 feet, one *parasang*—about 20 *li*, and 50 *parasangs*—about 1000 *li*. Thus Rashid's statement is in accordance with the Chinese. M. Polo states, I. c. vol. i, p. 389, that Cambaluc is distant from Shang-tu ten days journey. He means probably the direct road with eighteen imperial stations; for he speaks of the way followed by the khan's foot-runners.

104. *T'ung-mu* on modern Chinese maps is written 土木 *T'u-mu*. It is a little town.

105. The present departmental town of 宣化府 *Süan-hua fu*, under the Kin dynasty was called 宣德州 *Süan-te chou*. After it had been taken by the Mongols, the name was changed into 宣寧府 *Süan-ning fu*. In 1263 the ancient name of *Süan-te* was again adopted (*Süan-te fu*), but in 1266 changed again into 順寧府 *Shun-ning fu* (cf. *Yi fung chi*, the great geography of China). Marco Polo calls *Süan-hua fu*, *Sindu-chu*, which name is intended for *Süan-te* chou as Col. Yule first pointed out.

on modern Chinese maps is marked on the bank of this river, west of the Kalgan road.<sup>106</sup>

The next station was 得勝口 *Te-sheng-k'ou*. The itinerary speaks of a palace here with flower gardens, planted also with various kinds of fruit trees. This name is not marked on modern maps, but it must have been situated west of modern Kalgan.

The next station was on the top of the pass called 野狐嶺 *Ye-hu ling*.<sup>107</sup>

The next station, 30 *li* to the north, was the departmental city of 興和路 *Hing-ho lu*.<sup>108</sup>

The seventh station after leaving *Hing-ho lu*, was on the lake *Ch'a-han nao-r* (Chagan nor) already mentioned. Here the direct road and the western road united.<sup>109</sup>

106. Compare the corresponding map in the *Suan hua fu chi* and Wæber's map.

107. *Ye-hu ling*, according to the *K'ou pei san t'ing chi*, chap. ii, fol. 6, is situated at a distance of 5 *li* north of the 謄房堡口 *Shan-fang-p'u k'ou*. The latter is the name of one of the gates in the Great wall, next to the west after the gate of Kalgan. Compare the map in the *K'ou pei, etc.* Ch'ang-ch'un, on his journey from Peking to Mongolia in 1221, passed by the *Ye-hu ling* defile (See my *Notes on Chinese Mediæval Travellers*, p. 19). Another Chinese traveller, *Chang Te-hui*, proceeding about the middle of the 13th century from Peking to Caracorum, mentions his passing through the gate of *Te-sheng k'ou*, (see above);—this seems to be the same as the modern *Shan-fang-p'u k'ou*, after which he reached the 押狐嶺 *O-hu ling*. *Ling*, as is known, in Chinese means "a pass" and also "a ridge of a mountain;" *ye-hu* or *o-hu* represents probably a Mongol word. *Yeke*—“big.”

108. *Hing-ho lu* is the present *Khara-balgasun* (Black city) about 80 English miles north-west of Kalgan, situated on the caravan road to Russia, and also the same as 撫州 *Fu chou* mentioned in Ch'ang-ch'un's itinerary (*Notes on Chinese Mediæval Travellers*, p. 19). *Fu chou* was a very important place under the *Kin* dynasty in the 12th century, as well as in the beginning of the Mongol era. The original name was changed in 1262 into 隆興路 *Lung-hing lu* (*lu*—“departmental city” in the Mongol time), and subsequently into *Hing-ho lu*. The *Kin* emperors had a palace there (*kin shi*,—geographical part), and according to the *Yuan shi* (annals, sub anno 1263) a *hing-kung* or “imperial travelling palace” was built at this place. In the *Yuan shi* (annals, sub anno 1293), it is recorded, that at *Hing-ho lu* a manufactory for the equipment of the troops (軍器人匠局) was established. I quote this statement, for Marco Polo (l. c., vol. i, p. 251) reports the same with respect to *Sindachu* (*Suan-hua fu*),—“they carry on a great many crafts such as provide for the equipment of the Emperor's troops.” It results from the date given by the Chinese authors, that the manufactory in *Hing-ho lu* was established only after M. Polo had left China.

109. The lake of *Chagan nor* (White lake) is mentioned also by M. Polo (l. c. vol. i, p. 260) on his road from *Suan-hua fu* to *Shang-tu*. He places it, just as the ancient Chinese authors do (*K'ou pei san etc.*, chap. ii, fol. 10), midway between the two cities, i. e. at a distance of three days from *Shang-tu* and the same distance from *Suan-hua fu*. One of the travellers quoted in the *Ch'eng te fu chi* (l. c.) took five days between *Suan-hua fu* and *Ch'agan nor*, travelling evidently very slowly. Dr. Bushell in his pamphlet quoted above, identifies M. Polo's *Chagan nor* with *Chagan-balgasun*, about 8 English miles north-west of *Khara-balgasun*. Before him the same identification had been made by Ritter (*Asien*, vol. i, p. 123), and Prof. Semionoff (Russian translation of Ritter, vol. i, p. 338), and Col. Yule also adopts this view, which however is in contradiction with the Chinese authors of the Mongol period, whilst the Chinese statements are in accordance with M. Polo. *Chagan-balgasun* (White city) is the name applied by the Mongols of our days to the ruins of an ancient city, which according to A. Palladius' investigations, based on local observation, must be identified with ancient 昌州 *Ch'ang chou*, built by the *Kin* in the 12th century (cf. *Notes on Chinese Mediæval Travellers*, p. 20, note 22). *Chagan-balgasun* had already been mentioned before Palladius, in 1819 by

I have little doubt, that this western road to Shang-tu, described in ancient Chinese works, is identical with the second road of Rashid, following the banks of the river *Sanghin*, passing near the city of *Semali*, and through the city of *Chuchu*. The road from Peking to Suan-hua fu proceeds indeed for a long distance in the valley of the river *Sang-kan* (see above), and the 洋河 *Yang-ho*, which is an affluent of the latter. We have seen, that in the Mongol times the way to Shang-tu went, not through Kalgan as it does now, but lay more to the west. About twenty English miles west of Kalgan there is a place called 洗馬林 *Si-ma lin*, marked on most of the Chinese maps, and on Wæber's map, which I presume to be Rashid's *Semali*. I am strengthened in my view by the fact, that a place of a similar name is mentioned in the history of the Mongol dynasty.

In the *Yuan-shi*, chap. clxiv, biography of *Kuo Shou-king* (see note 80), it is stated, that in the year 1291 two propositions were laid before the emperor. The first was to establish a water conveyance between 永平 *Yung-p'ing* (now *Yung-p'ing* fu in the north-eastern part

*Timkowsky* (Russian edition, vol. iii, p. 35). According to the latter, these ruins are found a little to the south-east of the lake *Angulinor*, identified by Kitter and others with M. Polo's Chagan nor. Dr. Bushell saw the ruins of Chagan-balgasun only from afar, at a distance of 45 *li*, and was told by the people (it seems) that the adjoining lake is called *Chagan nor*. I can find no corroboration in Chinese works for the *Anguli* nor being named also *Chagan nor*, and may observe that the latter is a very common name for lakes in Mongolia, occurring frequently on the Chinese maps of that country; but I have not been able to make out a lake of this name marked in the regions between *Khara-balgasun* and *Shang-tu*. This part of Mongolia, as is known, abounds in lakes. The *K'ou pei san etc.*, describes all the principal lakes outside the Great wall, comparing ancient statements regarding them with modern accounts; but as to the *Chagan nor* in question, it is mentioned only by quotations drawn from ancient authors, and nothing is said about its position now. According to the Chinese annals, *Coubilai* khan had built a palace near this lake, in 1280. M. Polo speaks also of this palace. My objections to the view, that *Chagan nor* of the Mongol period is to be identified with the *Anguli* nor near Chagan-balgasun, is based on the ancient Chinese statements, that the straight road from Peking to *Shang-tu* passed by *Chagan nor*, and that this lake is stated to be situated midway between *Shang-tu* and *Suan-hua* fu, when proceeding by the western road. I think, therefore, its position must be looked for a considerable distance north-east of Chagan-balgasun; for this latter place is distant from *Shang-tu* twice as much as from *Suan-hua* fu. Besides these arguments, I can give more positive indications drawn from ancient sources, supporting my view regarding the position of M. Polo's *Chagan nor*. In the *Kin shi*, chap. xxiv, geographical section, I find that near the city of 柔遠縣 *Jou-yüan hien* belonging to *Fu chou* (*Khara-balgasun*), is the lake 昂吉里 *Ang-gi-li*, called also 鴛鴦 *Yüan-yang* lake. The explanatory dictionary for the *Kin shi* informs us, that *ang-gi*, represented by the Chinese sounds *ang-gi-li*, means "a wild duck" in Mongol (probably also in the language of the Liao or *Kin*; *ang-gi* has the same meaning in *Manchu*). The Chinese *yüan-yang* is applied to the beautiful "mandarin duck (*anas galericulata*)," found all over Mongolia and China. *Yüan-yang* is up to our days the Chinese name of the lake marked on Chinese and European maps as *Anguli* nor (cf. *Yü t'ung ch'i*), and is a literal translation of that original Mongol name, somewhat corrupted, on modern Chinese maps (昂古立腦兒 *Ang-gu-li nao-r*). In one of the ancient Chinese itineraries quoted above, a statement is found that the lake *Yüan-yang* is more than 100 *li* distant from the *Changan* nor, and that numerous other lakes, abounding in water-fowl, are seen on this tract. This position assigned to *Chagan nor* (100 *li* to the north-east of the *Anguli* nor is to be understood) would bring it about midway between *Suan-hua* fu and *Shang-tu*.

of the province of Chili) and *Shang-tu* on the river 漢 *Luan* (or *Shang-tu gol*) but the boats would have had to be drawn over the mountains.<sup>110</sup> The second project was to render navigable the *Lu-kou* river (*Hun-ho* or *Sang-kan*;—see above) from *Ma-yü* (a village already mentioned, on the *Hun-ho*, west of Peking, where the river emerges into the plain) upwards to 雪麻林 *Sin-ma lin*. The emperor ordered *Kuo Shou-king* to investigate the matter by local observation. Both projects were found to be impracticable.<sup>111</sup>

Thus Rashid's *Semali* can be identified. Rashid speaks of the splendid gardens and orchards at this place. The ancient Chinese itineraries mention imperial orchards and flower gardens near *Te-sheng k'ou* (see above), which place must have been near the present *Si-ma lin*. Rashid states further that at *Semali* people of Samarcand were settled. Even in our days a great number of Mohammedans live in the cities and villages between Peking and Kalgan, and especially towards the latter place. They are, in all probability, descendants of those Mohammedans spoken of by M. Polo as inhabitants of the towns and villages he passed through before arriving at *Süan-hua fu*, and mentioned by Rashid as settled in the same region.

The identification of the city of *Chúchú*, in the vicinity of *Semali* according to Rashid, and situated on the road to *Shang-tu* presents some difficulties. The commentators of Rashid, probably seduced by the similarity of sounds, do not hesitate in identifying *Chúchú* with 淄州 *Cho chou*.<sup>112</sup> But this city is situated 130 *li* south-west of Peking, while *Shang-tu* lies straight to the north of the capital. I have no doubt that *Chúchú* is a clerical error in the Persian manuscripts. Perhaps it ought to be read *Fuchu* and the city of *Fu chou* (*Khara-balgasun*;—see note 108) is to be understood. We have seen that this city was an important place in the time of the Kin. The emperors of that dynasty had a palace there according to the Chinese annals. In the *Yüan shi*, chap. iv, annals of *Coubilai khan*, at the beginning, we find some additional corroborations of the view, that Rashid's *Chúchú* may be identified with ancient *Fu chou*. It is stated there, that in 1252, when *Coubilai* was still heir-apparent, he established his *ordo*

110. 言漢河自永平挽舟踰山而上可至開平。

111. As to the *Luan* river however, it was made navigable in *Coubilai's* time, as the same *Yüan shi* reports in chap. lxiv, where a separate article is devoted to this river *Luan* connecting *Shang-tu* with the sea. Corn could be carried on it up to *Shang-tu*. M. Polo states that the *Sang-hu* river is ascended by merchants from the sea. The *Hun ho* may be navigable even now in its lower course, but for trade is of little importance. From the *Lu-kou* bridge upward, rafts are occasionally met with on the river, but boats are seen only after the rainy season at the ferries. In winter time they are replaced by miserable bridges.

112. Cf. Klaproth in *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, tom. xi, p. 335. Even Col. Yule, who is always so sagacious and cautious in commenting, has adopted this view; see *Cathay, etc.* p. 260.

between 桓州 *Huan chou* (see above) and 撫州 *Fu chou*. In 1254, after returning from the expedition to Yünnan, he dwelt at first at the same place, and then transferred his residence to *Fu chou*. In 1255 his encampment was again between *Huan chou* and *Fu chou*. In 1256, in spring, a Buddhist priest was ordered to look out by divination for a prosperous place, east of *Huan chou* and north of the 潛 *Luan* (*Shang-tu gol*;—see notes 110, 111) suitable for the foundation of a city, which (afterwards) was called 開平 *K'ai-p'ing*. Coubilai spent the winter of the same year in the country of 哈刺八刺哈孫 *Ha-la-ba-li-ha-sun*. Thus the present name of *Khara-balgasun* (see note 108) was in use even in the Mongol times. Perhaps Rashid's statement, that in former times the emperors used to live at Chúchú, points to these facts recorded in the Chinese annals. The only feasible objection to my view would appear to be the distance between *Fu chou* and *Se-ma-lin* being nearly 30 English miles; for Rashid places his *Semali* near Chúchú. But the ancient road to *Shang-tu* passed indeed, as we have seen, near *Si-ma lin* and through *Fu chou*.

In the ancient Chinese itineraries, a branch of this western road to *Shang-tu*, just spoken of, is alluded to as striking off from the station of *T'ung-mu* (see note 104) to the north, and joining afterwards the first or direct road to *Shang-tu*. This is the road which even now connects this station with the city of 赤城 *Ch'i-ch'eng* and leads to the gate *Tu-shi k'ou*. *Chi-ch'eng* did not yet exist in the Mongol times.

Let us turn now to the third road to *Shang-tu*, which lay by 古北口 *Ku-pei k'ou*. This road, according to the ancient itineraries, was used generally by the officers in the suite of the emperors, and for conveying the baggage of the emperor. No other details are found in the *Shang tu yi ch'eng k'ao* regarding the *Ku-pei k'ou* road, which I am inclined to identify with Rashid's third road, "which takes the direction of the pass of *Sengling* (other readings are *Siking*, and *Sengking*), beyond which you find only prairies and plains abounding in game until you reach *Kaiminfu*."

*Ku-pei k'ou* is an ancient name. This defile, about 70 English miles to the north-west of Peking and crossed by the Great wall, was known by the same name as early as the 10th century (*Liao shi*, geographical part), and is mentioned repeatedly in the Chinese annals of the Mongol period. But Rashid's *Sengling* has no resemblance to *Ku-pei k'ou*. There is a mountain range 新開嶺 *Sin-k'ai ling*, marked on Chinese maps near *Ku-pei k'ou*, and spoken of also in the *Ji hia*, chap. cliii, fol. 15. This name sounds like Rashid's *Sengling*, and a bold commentator would perhaps venture an identification. But after passing *Ku-pei k'ou*, the traveller going to the north has to cross much higher mountains before

he reaches the Mongolian steppes. I propose another more plausible explanation of Rashid's account.

The great chain of mountains, separating Manchuria from Mongolia and marked on our maps as *Khingan* range, stretches at first from north to south, and then turning to the west, separates the plateau of Mongolia from China proper. *Khingan* is not a Chinese but a Manchu name, which was probably also in use during the Kin and Mongol periods. In Chinese books this range is termed 興安嶺 *Hing-an ling* (pronounced *Sing-an ling* in the northern Chinese dialect).<sup>113</sup> I feel tolerably certain that this is the word Rashid wished to render by *Sengling*.<sup>114</sup> *Ling* in Chinese means "a range of mountains." Proceeding from Ku-pei k'ou northward, the traveller has to traverse the *Khingan* range,<sup>115</sup> beyond which he has before him the vast prairies of Mongolia. Cf. Col. Przewalsky's *Mongolia and the country of the Tanguts*, 1875 (in Russian) pp. 72, 73.

Finally I may be allowed to say a few words regarding the palace *Langtin*, built as the Persian historiographer reports, on the eastern side of Shang-tu. The correctness of this statement can also be proved from Chinese sources. According to the *Shang tu yi ch'eng k'ao*, there were two 凉亭 *Liang-ting* or "cool pavilions (palaces)," one 50 *li* east of Shang-tu, the other 150 *li* west of the summer residence.

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#### THIEVES IN MONGOLIA.

ONE evening at sunset, as we were sitting round the tent fire, picking mutton bones, and looking at the millet as it boiled in the pot, an old lama, who lived close by, hobbled into the tent counting his beads, sat down where we made room for him, and, after glancing at the boiling millet, remarked, "A dangerous man came to-day." "Who?" asked my camel driver. "Why,—the lama who came with his son in the afternoon; did not you know him? Bajer, the famous thief." The camel driver had not recognised him, but as soon as his name was mentioned, said,— "Oh is *that* the man?" His face he did not know, but he knew him well by fame. After talking a little, the lama noticed that the millet was ready, rose to take his leave, and said that he had come to put us on our guard, as he was not at all easy in his mind when such a man appeared in the neighbourhood. As we went on with our supper, I had a pretty full description of the dangerous visitor from the camel

113. Cf. *Cheng te fu chi*, section on hills and rivers.

114. Rashid's proper names used with respect to China and Mongolia are not always Mongol terms. Although his information was drawn, it seems, only from Mongol sources, we find frequently in his records Chinese names quoted, e. g. Daidu, Kaiminfu, and Lantin.

115. Nearly 4000 feet high (Przewalsky).

driver, who seemed to take a delight in going over the many adventures connected with the name of the man against whom we had been warned. This celebrated thief was a lama. He was well known, and well known to be a thief; yet he had his cattle and his sheep, his home and habitation, and was allowed to live undisturbed. He had been concerned in many cattle stealings for years before, but had managed so well that he escaped with little damage. The whole country-side knew him for a thief, but no one could, or would, have him convicted.

A day or two after, a young man entered our tent, and when he left, I was informed by my camel driver that the lad was the son of another famous thief, near whose tent we would camp in a few days. On remarking that if we camped there we would need to keep a good watch, I was told that we would be quite safe there; he would not steal from anybody near his own door;—that in fact the only way to be safe from a thief, was to camp beside him! It turned out that this man was an officer, a mandarin holding rank and office under the Chinese government. I intended to have made his acquaintance but we lost our way among some sand hills, and I had no opportunity of experiencing the safety of a thief's protection.

These two men are only individuals of a class to be found in Mongolia;—known thieves, who are nevertheless treated as respectable members of society. As long as they manage well and are successful, little or no odium seems to attach to them; and it is no uncommon thing to hear Mongols speak in terms of high praise of these worthies. Success seems to be regarded as a kind of palliation of their crimes. A man caught in the act, or a man convicted of theft finds few to speak for him; but a man who can arrange to have thefts performed in a business-like manner by others, while he himself is ostentatiously at home, or at some convivial party, is a good thief, and, it would seem, a praiseworthy man. As for their religion, that does not seem to deter them at all. The reputed thief who visited me was a lama and he had not lost caste. Another lama, who died a year or two ago, had his funeral rites interdicted by a superior lama, on the ground that the deceased had been in some way concerned in the death of a man. "Had he been a thief," said the superior, "that could have been passed over; but murder is a more serious affair."

And so the able and business-like thieves pursue their course brazen-faced and high-handed. Many instances could be quoted but a celebrated *one* will suffice.

As the story goes, he lived at the edge of Roaring Lake and was a man of great wealth. He had a large establishment at home and when he rode forth, it was on a splendid steed worth 150 taels; he wore a magnificent silk dress, glittering with massive silver ornaments, and when

he performed the rites of salutation, the bottle he offered one to snuff from was worth 80 taels. He was good-natured and open-handed ; he was so kind and obliging, that, as the Mongol phrase is, his neighbours rode him. When he went on *business*, he collected some merchandise, such as Chinese satin boots, cloth, silk, &c., loaded his camels and was off. Little or nothing of his movements was known. In two or three months after his departure, the neighbours on going out some morning, would see a great herd of fine camels near his tent ; and if any one was foolish enough to ask any questions, he would be told that these camels were the profits of his *trading venture*. Everybody, government officials included, knew they were stolen, but no one cared, or dared, to impeach so powerful a man. Many were bound to him by the remembrance of past favours and the hope of further kindness ; and any one who ventured to accuse him, knew he would suffer severely for his rashness. In this way the man of Roaring Lake went on for a long time ; till, at length, one of his accomplices was caught in China, put in prison, and laid information against him. A government order was sent to him requiring him to appear at a certain *yamen* by a fixed day. All knew what this meant. He knew too, but determined to go in state. Taking his best robes, ornaments, horses, and camels, he set out with tent and attendants, travelled like a prince, and enlivened his night encampments with feastings and wine. In due course he presented himself to the mandarin, asked why he had been summoned, and was informed that it was all a mistake ; the man wanted was another person of the same name. The truth was, he had found means in the interval to buy over the mandarin ; so he was discharged and journeyed home again as merrily as he had come. After continuing his career for a time he gathered up his substance and removed to a distant part of the country, and was heard of no more. Instances of men like the above are not rare. The greatest peculiarity of that narrative is, that he ended peaceably and quietly ; as most thieving careers,—however long and successful they may be,—end disastrously. Many of the exploits of great, or as the Mongols would say, good thieves, are preserved in songs and ballads ; and if one gets a Mongol to sing a song, and asks what he has been singing, the chances are, it will turn out the auditors have been listening to the praises of some thief.

From the nature of the country, the operations of thieves are confined mostly to cattle-lifting ; and as force is almost unheard of in stealing, it requires great tact to take them, drive them off, and dispose of them, so as to elude detection. Almost anybody, any day or night of the year, could run off with a few horses, or oxen, or camels ; that is easy enough ; but the difficulty is to travel them safely in a country where every friend and stranger you meet has unbounded curiosity, and asks

all manner of questions, and to deposit them safely till a market is found. Some parts of the country, too, afford protection against thieves from the nature of the ground. One part of Mongolia is very sandy; it is in fact a vast billowy sea of sand with patched vegetation. Stolen cattle could easily be tracked through this; so cattle-lifting is not common there. Of all places, perhaps temples and their neighborhoods are the most dangerous. The numbers of people coming and going, and the numerous roads diverging towards all parts of the country make pursuit more difficult. Of all the temples in Mongolia, perhaps Bandit Gegenea Heet, which lies away to the north-east of Lama-Miao, is the best adapted for Mongol thieves.

It stands in a wide plain which is covered over with sword-grass, tall and high, so that even a horseman in a few minutes can screen himself completely from view. We arrived there one August afternoon. The sword-grass had reached its height, and was beginning to become dry and white. Entering a road that ran winding through the grass, we threaded our way towards the temple, seeing little but its towering roof. We pitched our tent among some other pilgrims on a piece of open ground. We had many visitors, but one was especially noted by us. He was a nondescript lama;—had a negative enough account to give of himself, but there was something about him, or his manner, it would be difficult to say which, that marked him out as one to be remembered, among many that would be forgotten. In the evening, a girl, belonging,—as her dialect showed, and as she herself said,—to a very distant tribe, came into our tent and sat down. After a little she requested us to permit her to sleep in our tent for that night. The camel driver, who usually decided on such applications himself, referred her to me. I at once told her we could not have her with us, because that would lay us open to the suspicion of immorality, gave her some supper, and sent her off. When she had gone, my old lama laughed at me for giving such a reason for refusing her lodgings, and said there was a much more serious reason for dismissing her. Should anything be stolen within a day or two, and that girl not be forthcoming, we would be held responsible for the thief, and the theft, because we had harboured her.

Next day about noon, some thief or other walked up to a row of about a dozen horses tied in a public place, mounted one and rode off before the eyes of numbers of people; horsemen were mounting and dismounting, arriving and departing at the time, and the thief ran the greatest risk of being seen by some one who knew the horse; but no one noticed, and the thief got clear off. Who the thief was no one knew, but we remarked, that the "girl" was no more seen about the temple. Next night, I think it was, a horseman rode up to the tent

next ours, where there was a very fine camel tied. The man on watch, pretending to be asleep as before, let him ride quite close up, then challenged him. The horseman said he was looking for a tent that had arrived that day, turned and rode slowly off, displaying against the sky, the dark outline of the nondescript lama. He was foiled that night, but he, or some one else, succeeded next day. A pilgrim who had been to Woo-t'ai and back, and was still a month's journey from home, hobbled his horse and entered a tent to drink the usual cup of tea. Going out again in a few minutes no horse was to be seen; he had disappeared once for all among the roads screened by the long sword-grass. The pilgrim came, among other places, to our tent to ask if aught had been seen. Some lamas belonging to the temple were with us at the time, and one of them seemed disposed to take an interest in the lost horse, when a companion overawed him and cut the conversation short by saying authoritatively,—*No one here knows anything about it.* The words themselves were not amiss, but the look seemed to mean that though they knew they would not tell him. That temple seems to be a paradise of thieves. The government gets all credit for activity and zeal in attempting to put down stealing, but the friendly screen of the sword-grass is too much for it.

Travellers are especially liable to have their cattle stolen. Settled natives often suffer too, but the cattle of caravans fall an easier prey; they are less liable to be recognised, and the owners, being strangers, receive less hearty coöperation and help in attempts at tracing and recovery. Then again the watcher of a caravan, being tired with travel and work all day, often sleeps at his post at night. Personal experience of the difficulty of keeping awake, kept me from finding much fault with any of my watchers when I found them asleep; and I know of one occasion on which our tent was visited by a thief when I was on watch but sound asleep. He went off, however, without taking anything. On another occasion we had a strange adventure. We were encamped at a solitary spot away from all dwellings, and had just gone to bed for the night, when we heard voices approaching, evidently those of two men on horseback. They rode up softly, talking quietly as they came. I poked my head out at the tent mouth, and there they were quite close on us; the camel driver was in bed outside the tent, beyond the camels, and heard them remark.—“There is a head looking out from the tent.” He gave a slight cough, and the two men dismounted, hailed us, and entered the tent. They had come to ask me to go to see a sick man close at hand. They described the symptoms minutely, and arranged to bring me a saddled horse before sunrise next morning. Sunrise came but no horse; we waited, still no horse;—loaded our camels and started; still no horse. The affair now looked suspicious, and whether they

were thieves or not, I am told that is how clever thieves often do. They ride up talking softly, and throw the watcher off his guard. If he is awake he coughs or speaks; then the thieves come up and talk like honest men. If no one speaks or appears, the probability is that all are asleep, and they have a fair chance of making a haul. Thieves who visit caravan encampments usually come early in the night, as that is the most likely time to find the people asleep; a good dinner after a hard day in the desert having a soporific effect. A story is told of a Chinese thief who came a little too early. A Mongol had been to China to buy grain, and coming home with it on an ox-cart alone, pitched his tent one evening, and after sunset, set about cooking his dinner. Knowing the place was dangerous for thieves, as he sat by his fire, he kept calling out at intervals,—“Ah you thief, you, let go that ox.” Once after shouting, he heard the sound of feet; and looking out, saw a Chinaman running across the plain, leaving the ox he had been just in the act of stealing. The Mongol’s random shot had just been in time, and scared the Chinaman who thought he had been observed.

Another trick frequently put upon travellers is, not to steal the cattle altogether, but to drive them off to some place where they would not be easily found. The owners, on discovering the loss, ride about looking and asking for them. Those in the plot volunteer information; the owner follows it up, and finds the cattle in some one’s keeping, who of course has *found* them, and demands the usual finder’s fee. The owner knows,—the finder knows,—everybody knows,—they have been driven off intentionally; but the driving off has been so managed, as to look like a case of straying; the owner can bring no proof against any one, and though he knows it is a swindle, has to pay the redemption money. The whole country-side understands the transaction exactly, but in place of condemning the affair, rather envy the cleverness and success of those who managed it.

Upon stealing in general, Mongol society does not seem to frown much. It is to be feared, that few Mongols abstain from theft because stealing is wrong. If they do not steal, it is probably because they have no opportunity; or having opportunity, know themselves to be too clumsy; or are too timid. Perhaps there are a few people honest in the proper sense of the word. If there are, they are few; and the Chinese are not so far wrong, when they habitually speak of the Mongols as a race of thieves. Generally speaking it is not much of an exaggeration to say, that the Mongols, men, women, and children, old and young, lamas and laity, steal according to their opportunities and the best of their ability. Since this is the case, it is sometimes asked, how such a state of things can exist;—how does it happen that

society does not go to anarchy? The explanation is not far to seek. Even in Mongolia, with all the advantages afforded to thieves, honesty pays best. In the *first place* :—Stealing cattle does not pay so well as might be supposed. Stolen cattle are usually sold cheap to secure a speedy market, or are handed over to an accomplice who insists on sharing the profits. In the case of most cattle-liftings, there are a number of accomplices; and by the time they all get their share, the plunder secured is smaller than might be supposed. In the *second place* :—Neighbours must be considered. They usually have a pretty good idea of what goes on, and, if they liked, could give hints to officials or evidence at trials, that might be highly damaging. They therefore must be kept sweet, and obliged in many inconvenient ways. The story of the man of Roaring Lake shows this plainly. "His neighbours rode him" says the tale, "he was so kind." This kindness was most likely a prudent means of protection; at any rate it was a drain on his resources.

A rather peculiar case of this kind happened not long ago. A father married his daughter to a man who turned out unsuitable. The wife was a handy woman, really valuable about a place; the father was anxious to break off the union and have his daughter home again; but the husband knew the value of the wife and was determined to retain her. Possession was nine-tenths of the law, and the father could do nothing till a rumour reached him of which he made the most. Seeking a private interview with his son-in-law, he told him that if he did not wish to be impeached for a certain theft in which he had been implicated, he had better not oppose his father-in-law. The bridegroom saw he was in his father-in-law's power and was glad to escape by resigning his wife. In the *third place* :—When men are accused in court, it half or whole ruins them. There are usually almost no end of squeezes, and some heavy bribes to be paid. Though the man is acquitted nominally, he has in reality paid a very heavy fine to buy himself off; so that, though the court be but a mass of bribery and corruption, the ends of justice are indirectly served, and a powerful check put on stealing. A Mongol was one day expressing astonishment at the reverse of fortune of a wealthy man who had become poor. A bystander remarked that the man in question had allowed himself to be mixed up in some stealing transaction. He said no more, and no more seemed needed. All seemed to understand it at once.

The way of transgressors is hard, and the main check on Mongol dishonesty seems to be, the misfortune and disaster which usually follow on the heels of dishonesty. Honest men frequently come to poverty too, but openly dishonest men, such as those who implicate themselves in cattle stealings, very seldom remain in prosperity; and

this,—the disaster which commonly follows dishonesty,—goes a long way in securing to the Mongols the protection to property that is afforded by the righteous administration of good laws in other countries. Though almost everybody has the *heart* to steal, everybody is not always *actually* stealing. The Mongols know each other and take proper precautions; and with a little care a foreign traveller need not lose much among them. Pocket-picking and neat stealing are hardly known in Mongolia; and if a Mongol were set down in London, or any large town in Britain, in the way of practised thieves and swindlers, he would soon have little left, and would be inclined to think his own countrymen honest in comparison. The alarming thing about Mongol dishonesty is, not the actual amount of stealing that goes on, but the seemingly universal inclination to steal, in almost all, and the utter want of public sentiment against it. In favour of the Mongols I must testify, that in my intercourse with them I have lost very little indeed; partly, perhaps, because few things were left lying about in my tent, and my Mongol attendants, considering themselves responsible, and knowing the native weakness, kept a sharp lookout. Often when going out I would be detained by them to put past this, that and the other things, which they were afraid people who came in might pick up; and, as far as I am aware, they themselves (my Mongol servants), never stole anything. On one occasion too, I left a parcel of silver in a leather bag for some days in a tent. I trusted more to their ignorance than to their honesty in this last particular, and the silver was safe and sound.

On another occasion I left a portmanteau in the keeping of a poor lama, and went off about a hundred miles, being away for a week. Coming back, I found it all right. It is pleasant to be able to point out instances of fidelity among a dishonest people, though it is probable that in most cases when I proved their fidelity, their conduct was upright only because the consequences of wrong-doing would have been serious. My servants may have been honest, because I had their wages in my hands, and the lama may have been faithful with my portmanteau, because the loss of it would have severed our business relations, which were a source of profit to him. But let us give them the benefit of the doubt; only it is well to remember, that in dealing with Mongols it will not do to trust to their honour; the only safe way is to make such arrangements, that it shall be to their manifest and immediate advantage to be honest. In books I have read some extraordinary examples of honesty and integrity in Buddhists;—stories which, if true, would almost cast the integrity of some Christians into the shade. These stories *may* have been true, but the state of things I have seen among the Mongols, who are extremely pious, makes wonderful stories of Buddhist truth and uprightness hard to believe; and if any

one wants to exalt Buddhism as compared with Christianity, the farther he keeps from Mongolia the better. Thieves and stealing abound in Christian countries, but all Christians are not thieves; and known thieves are not regarded as respectable members of society; and it is not too much to hope, that one of the fruits of Christianity in Mongolia will be the creation of a healthy and honest contempt for thieves and stealing, among a people whom even the Chinese regard as personified dishonesty.

HOINOS.

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#### COLPORTAGE IN CHINA.

The following brief sketch of a trip from Shanghai to Kiukiang, a distance of over 600 miles inland, for the purpose of distributing the Word of Life among the Chinese, is sent for publication, in the hope that it may not prove altogether unacceptable to those who take an interest in this branch of missionary labor.

I set out in the early part of last March in a house-boat owned by the American Bible Society; taking a three months' supply of books, consisting of New Testaments, single Gospels, the pictorial sheet tract, &c. From Shanghai I first proceeded to Soochow, lying about ninety miles north-west of Shanghai, where at present there are four Protestant missionary families residing.

From Soochow I followed the Grand Canal to Chinkiang, situated at its junction with the Yang-tsze kiang. Between these two points, a distance of 350 miles, the country is thickly inhabited and I was everywhere cordially received. This whole region, however, bears still the desolating marks of the T'ae-ping rebellion, from the effects of which the people are but slowly recovering, and hence are very poor.

After a short stay at Chinkiang I proceeded up the Yang-tsze, and visited all the towns on one bank till we reached Nanking, meeting everywhere with a ready sale for my books, and very little rudeness.

Passing a custom-house near Nanking, I was asked to show my pass, and without any further hindrance reached the South Gate of the Southern capital.

In order to obtain a little knowledge of the language, I decided to remain in Nanking for two months; the Inland Mission having kindly placed at my service their house which was otherwise unoccupied at the time. Every day I spent several hours on the streets. At first the crowds were immense, all eager to buy, though no doubt in part attracted by my clothes; the European dress being a comparatively rare sight. Nanking is rapidly recovering itself from the state of ruin

it was in at the close of the rebellion. The main streets look particularly gay, the shops being all fresh, and dazzling with gold and lacquer. New ones are being opened daily, and the town generally appears in a thriving condition. There is a temple near the West Gate, the 都城隍廟 *Tu ch'eng huang mian*, worth visiting. On either side of the main hall, figures are ranged behind a railing, representing all the agonies supposed to be suffered in the infernal regions. Men sawn asunder by most repulsive looking lictors, women boiled in large caldrons, head downwards, leaving their small feet sticking out. Others being bamboozed while chained to red-hot posts. In one place is a bed of snakes among which women and men writhe in horrible agony. Horses, leopards, dogs and other animals are made use of to torment to death those who are unfortunate enough to get in here.

A very well executed likeness of the famous general *Tseng Kwoh Fan* 曾國藩, who died last year, hangs in the upper room of a pavilion in the 莫愁湖, *Moh-t'seu heu*, a kind of public pleasure-ground, having a pretty flower garden and lotus pond attached. A temple lately finished, called 臥佛寺 *Oh-fuh sz*, near the West Water-gate is also worth seeing; every thing about it looking bright and clean. There is a large figure of Kwan-yin here, standing on a fish's head, having a very pretty back-ground of imitation rocks, on every projection and in every crevice of which, are figures of men both foreign and native, even to a coolie with his wheelbarrow.

There are at Nanking about fifty thousand followers of Mahomet, who conform to the habits of the Chinese so far as dress and language go, but never intermarry with them; they have their own places of worship, of which there are at present ten in the city,—hear the Koran read in Arabic, and observe the fasts ordered by the prophet. Their mode of burial also differs widely from the Chinese, having no coffin, but merely a winding-sheet, in which they wrap the body and bury it in a grave something similar to ours. I visited one of their places of worship, which was about thirty yards long and fifteen yards wide, with doors at each end and on one side. The floor was covered with clean matting, and from the ridge pole hung six large handsome Chinese glass lamps at equal distances, with smaller ones between. Opposite the side door is a raised platform railed off, and over head are a number of large Arabic characters in gilt. Near this is a pulpit with a very neat stair leading up to it. All the wood-work is nicely varnished, and everything scrupulously clean. There are no pictures or images; neither are there any seats. The worshippers, before entering,—which they do barefooted,—put on over their Chinese dress, a long white robe, made in a style of their own, and a white conical-shaped hat, the queue being wrapt round the head. The wor-

ship is conducted in Arabic by their pastor, who is distinguished by a turban in addition to the hat worn by the congregation. One with whom I got into conversation remarked to me,—“any religion may flourish in China so long as it does not interfere with the civil power, but this is just what you Christians do, by stipulating for it in your treaties and having a gun-boat to defend you, which of course arouses the jealousy of the governing body.”

Having secured a good teacher, and sold books in almost every street in the city, I determined to continue on up the river to Kiukiang, a distance of about 350 miles. For the first few days, owing to a head wind and a strong current against us, we made very slow progress; but as I could sell books wherever I stopped, it mattered little. On the fourth day from starting, we reached T'ai-ping, which, though marked a *fu* city on Williams' map, is but a miserable collection of wood hovels, with the exception of one short street, where there are some well-built shops. I met a few who knew a little of the gospel, but complained that there was no one to preach to them. Books were bought eagerly, and a foreign preacher, having a good command of the language, would, I think, meet with great encouragement there. The Inland Mission have a native assistant stationed there.

Another couple of days brought me to Wu-hu, which is a large thriving town, built on both banks of an affluent of the Yang tsze. It possesses several very fine streets paved with flags, and well stocked shops on both sides, all apparently doing a brisk business. Outside one of the numerous Canton shops, I observed the photograph of a group of foreigners. The Inland Mission have opened a chapel in one of the quiet streets, but I understood the native in charge seldom preaches, and sells no books; so that very little is effected here for the spread of the gospel. While selling books on the boat, my attention was attracted to a large crowd gathering round some object on the ground, and on approaching found it was a man in a fit, his face working in most horrible contortions, which only had the effect of provoking hearty laughter amongst the crowd. I applied a few simple remedies, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing the man get up and quietly walk off, much to the astonishment of the assembled group. Later in the day, however, while proceeding leisurely along the main street, with the cry of *Yang kuei-tsze* (foreign devil) ringing in my ears from a number of boys, I was surprised at seeing a man approach, make a low *kow-tow*, and address me as—*Yang ta jen* (foreign gentleman), begging me to save the life of his friend who had eaten opium. I had to walk five *li* to where the man was lying, the hovel being an opium den, with three or four smoking round the dying man. To my astonishment I found it was the same man whom I had “doctored” in the

morning. After much trouble I succeeded in giving him a strong emetic, which took effect; and I was carried home in a chair, escorted by a number of his friends, who all made the most humble prostrations on my stepping on the boat, and thanked me repeatedly. Indeed, in every case of opium-poisoning in which I was successful, the friends showed the liveliest gratitude.

At Tieh-kiang the people were very annoying, acting as if they had never seen a foreigner before; and indeed it might have been so, as they were not at all unanimous on my nationality, some saying I was a Ningpo man, others that I was a Cantonese, but the children seemed agreed that at any rate I was a *kuei-tsze*. The native cooking pots are made there in large numbers, the iron being melted by means of charcoal, constantly blown by a hand bellows.

Even if my map had not told me, each day's experience revealed the fact more plainly, that I had entered another province, where the people were less accustomed to seeing foreigners and more inclined to rudeness, till, at a small village near Ch'i-chau fu, this characteristic shewed itself in open violence. In order to reach the village I had to cross a ferry, and immediately on landing was greeted with loud shouting, and cries of *Yang kuei-tsze*. As I went along the main street, the crowd grew more noisy, until, when I began to retrace my steps, having come to the end of the street, the yelling and screeching were something fearful; then attempts were made to snatch the books from me, one fellow pulling so determinedly as to take the corner of one away with him. Stones were thrown, one hitting me in the back very forcibly, and some behind pushed those in front against me. At length I decided that, for my own safety, I must make an example of one or two. So I brought my cane down pretty sharply on the backs of two of the ringleaders, and another who was trying to stop me by standing directly in front I caught by the collar and threw against his nearest neighbor, who, in turn, fell against another. This improved matters immediately, and I walked on, selling books as I went, till I had reached the ferry, but ere I could step on, it was maliciously pushed away from the banks. There was nothing for it therefore but to face the crowd again and await its return. However no further violence was attempted till I was a little from the shore on the ferry, when a perfect shower of stones and mud was thrown, one large piece striking me in the breast.

At length, after eighteen days, I reached Kiukiang safely, and soon forgot the past in the very warm reception I met with from the brethren residing there. One fine morning I started about 7 A. M. for a nearer inspection of the mountains which I had been admiring since my arrival. We reached Kiu-fung about nine, and stopped there for a short time

to allow the chair coolies to draw breath. From there we gradually ascended. For a considerable distance up, the sides of the hills are cultivated in terraces, the rice being flooded by means of a mountain stream. At the foot of a large tree we had to dismount and walk, as it was too steep to be carried. From that point the scenery was very grand. A foaming torrent bounding over rocks at our feet, and on either side immense piles of stones, with no lack of vegetation; on we climbed, the way becoming more steep and difficult. At length we came to a well-built stone bridge, which spanned a deep ravine, shortly after crossing which we came to a temple. After refreshing ourselves with a bath in the mountain torrent, some cold substantials, and a short nap, we continued our climb till we stood on the summit, from whence we had a charming view of the surrounding country, and the Poyang lake, its calm surface dotted with tiny craft going hither and thither, and the Yang-tsze, like a great serpent, winding away in the distance. We effected our descent in safety, and reached home a little before dark.

The distance which took eighteen days in ascending the river was traversed in four on returning. On reaching Chinkiang I crossed the river, and followed the Grand Canal as far as Yangchow, the scene of a serious riot directed against the Inland Mission a few years ago. It is a large and prosperous commercial city, having an immense floating population surrounding it. It possesses one of the handsomest Buddhist temples in this part of China, which, by some means, escaped the destroying hand of the rebels. The ceiling of the lower hall is very nicely painted, and some fine carving in black wood surrounds the centre god. But above this room is one which almost baffles description. The walls and ceiling are completely covered with a finely polished black wood, not unlike ebony, carved most richly, and in every possible niche are placed little gilt gods, amounting in all to the astonishing number of 13,500! In the centre of the room stands an exquisitely carved pagoda reaching to the ceiling, encircled by carved lattice-work, all made of the same black wood. In recesses on either side of the room are two "sleeping" life-size Buddhas, and under a large glass shade near the entrance is a small gilt figure of Kwan-yin, having a handsome wreath of artificial flowers around her head, reminding one rather forcibly of what is seen in Roman Catholic chapels. I reached Shanghai safely after an absence of four months, having travelled more than a thousand miles and disposed of over two thousand Gospels or extracts from them.

A. G.

## ON THE MANDARIN MUTES.

BY REV. JOHN T. GULICK.

IN the numbers of the *Chinese Recorder* for September-October and March-April different views have been expressed in regard to the pronunciation of the mandarin mutes. In whatever way the roman letters may be used to represent these sounds, it is of importance to know whether they are just the same as the English mutes which are represented by the same letters.

The Russian student, who uses *k*, *t*, *p*, for the aspirated mutes and *g*, *d*, *b*, for the unaspirated, unless emphatically warned that they are not to be pronounced just as in his own language, is liable to give the aspirate so feebly that the Chinese hearer will often fail to understand him. On the other hand, those who have been taught that the unaspirated mandarin mutes are to be pronounced the same as English *k*, *t*, *p*, will, if they follow their instructions, pronounce the unaspirated words so that they will often be taken for the aspirated. Many of us have in this way been delayed in gaining a distinct and intelligible pronunciation of Chinese. Months or even years of practice in the wrong pronunciation may pass before the student discovers that there is an important difference between the English word *tea* and the Chinese word 地; between the English *pea* and the Chinese 豆. From the time of this discovery his pronunciation begins to improve; but he finds great difficulty in changing his pronunciation of initial sounds which he has spoken incorrectly thousands of times; and it will be strange if some of them are not always mispronounced, and often misunderstood.

Those who are now commencing the study of the language in this province (Chih-li), are likely to be forewarned by those who have preceded them; for, though there is a difference of opinion as to whether these sounds approximate most nearly to *k*, *t*, *p*, or to *g*, *d*, *b*, there are now but few, if any, amongst us who claim that they exactly correspond to the English sounds of either of these groups of letters. Some of those who first learned to speak Chinese in the South continue to repeat the traditional statement that the mandarin unaspirated *k*, *t*, *p*, are the same as the English *k*, *t*, *p*, but I think they will all admit that there are many exceptions. On the 20th page of the introduction to Dr. Williams' *Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, we read that the unaspirated *t* is as in *top*; but on the 23rd page, we read that "at Peking, *d* is often heard before *a* and *u*, and the initial *t* often becomes *d*." In the remarks upon Pronunciation that form the first part of the *Tzü-erh Chi*, Mr. Wade says that unaspirated *ch* is "simply as in *chair, chip*," before any final but *ih*; but before *ih* it becomes *dj*.

Unaspirated *k*, when following other sounds, he says, often becomes *g*, as in *go* and *gate*.

For my part, I am unable to find any nearer approach to *dj*, or *j*, in the Chinese word 知 than in 斤 or 夫; nor am I ready to say that I hear *j* as in *judge*, or *g* as in *go* in any mandarin word. I think the mandarin mutes are all different from the English mutes. There are, however, important characteristics that place the mandarin *k'*, *t'*, *p'*, and the English *k*, *t*, *p*, in one class; and the unaspirated mandarin mutes, and English *g*, *d*, *b*, in another class. The former class, called hard or surd mutes, cannot be uttered as initials, without an escape of unvocalized breath preceding the vowel. In the latter class, when initials, no breath is allowed to escape that is not vocalized. These are called soft or sonant mutes. The difference between the two classes is very distinctly perceived in words that combine the mutes with the semivowels *l* and *r*. Compare *plot* and *blot*, *play* and *blay*, *clad* and *glad*, *tray* and *dray*. In the first word of each of these pairs, an escape of breath is heard before the vocal sound of *l* and *r* is uttered, while in the corresponding words that commence with *g*, *d*, or *b*, there is no escape of breath before the hum of the following letter is heard.

In describing this difference Prof. Helmholtz says:—"The series of the mediae, *b*, *d*, *g*, differs from that of the tenues *p*, *t*, *k*, by this, that for the former, the glottis is, *at the time of consonantal opening*, sufficiently narrowed to enable it to sound, or at least to produce, the noise of the *vox clandestina*, or whisper, while it is wide open with the tenues (*p*, *t*, *k*,) and therefore unable to sound." Of the latter he says; they "are pronounced with the glottis wide open, so that a great mass of air may rush forth at once from the chest."\*

"We may now understand" says Max Müller, "why the terms soft and hard, as applied to *p* and *b*, are by no means so inappropriate as has sometimes been supposed. Czermak, by using his probe, as described above, [introducing it through the nose into the cavity of the pharynx,] found that the hard consonants (*k*, *t*, *p*,) drove it up much more violently than the soft consonants."†

As at the beginning of a syllable the difference between a surd and a sonant mute is found in the manner of introducing the vowel, so at the end of a syllable, the difference is found in the manner of shutting off the vowel. In the case of the surd, the sound is cut off abruptly, at the instant of contact, while in the sonant, the sound is continued a moment after the closing of the organs.‡ As none of the mutes

\* Quoted by Max Müller, in his *Lectures on the Science of Language*—Second series, p. 144.

† See Max Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Language*—Second Series, pp. 159, 160.

‡ See Prof. W. D. Whitney's *Language and the study of Language*, Scribner & Co., New York. p. 88.

occur as finals in the mandarin, this distinction does not apply to the character of the sounds we are especially considering.

The next question that arises is concerning the difference between the mandarin and the English mutes, when occurring as initials. According to my observations, the difference between mandarin aspirated mutes and English *k*, *t*, *p*, is found in the amount and force of the unvocalized breath that precedes the vowel. The difference between the mandarin unaspirated mutes and English *g*, *d*, *b*, I find to be in the absence of the sound sometimes heard in English before the opening of the organs, and in the sudden stress of voice with which the vowel is introduced. This difference may be indicated by an accent following the consonant. To transform English *k*, *t*, or *p*, into the mandarin *k'*, *t'*, or *p'*, it must be pronounced with a strong explosion of breath before the following vowel is heard.

To transform English *g*, *d*, *b*, into mandarin *g'*, *d'*, *b'*, the contact of the organs must be made with firmer pressure, and the vowel must be made to break forth with a stress that is almost explosive; but if the least breath is allowed to escape without vocal sound the pronunciation is ruined.

In speaking mandarin, it is a much greater mistake to turn the unaspirated mutes into English *k*, *t*, *p*, than to make them the same as English *g*, *d*, *b*; for, in the first case, it is with difficulty that the hearer can follow the meaning; while, in the second case, the meaning is not at all obscured though the pronunciation is heavy; I therefore think it would be far better to use *g*, *d*, *b*, than *k*, *t*, *p*, to represent the unaspirated mandarin mutes. It is not necessary to say that they have the same pronunciation as in English words. Wherever it is desirable to distinguish these unaspirated mutes of the mandarin language, as spoken in two-thirds of the empire, from the doubly sonant *g*, *d*, *b*, found in some of the South-eastern dialects, marks can be added, either for the series that is confined to local dialects, or for the series that belongs to the general language. The spelling which is needed for general use should not however be burdened by the discriminations and diacritical marks that are required to represent dialectic variations. The use of *g*, *d*, *b*, is specially needed in romanizing proper names for the use of English and other European readers. We have in this province the towns  and , both of which appear on Dr. Williams' map under the name *Ki*. On maps professing to give the Northern pronunciation both are spelt *Chi*. If the name of the latter place is distinguished by adding the sign of an aspirate, the European reader who has not studied Chinese, gains but little light by the change.

Since writing the above, I have received the *Recorder* for May-June containing the communication from "Inquisitor" on this subject.

I agree most fully with him in regard to the advantages that would be gained by representing the mandarin unaspirated mutes by *g*, *d*, *b*; but errors have found their way into his description of the method of producing the surd and sonant mutes. In his quotation from Max Müller, the glottis is rightly described as *wide open* when *k*, *t*, *p*, are pronounced [necessarily securing an escape of unvocalized breath when they are spoken as initials], and as *narrowed* when *g*, *d*, *b*, are pronounced [securing the vocalization of all the breath that escapes]. In his own description, "Inquisitor" says:—"In uttering *d*, we have the glottis open, in saying *t*, we close it, checking the sound; in making the Chinese sound 他 *t'a*, we perform this closing with a more rapid and complete motion;" and so on in several other passages. He has not only spoken of the *open glottis* where he should have said *narrowed glottis*, but he has confounded the abrupt cutting off of the sound in *k*, *t*, *p*, when used as finals, with the closing of the glottis.

This confusion has undoubtedly arisen from an attempt to apply to initial mutes descriptions that are true only of the final mutes. Neither Max Müller nor Prof. Whitney notices the difference in the method of producing initial *t*, and final *t*; for example the first *t* and the second *t* in *flat town* when pronounced together. All descriptions that speak of the breath or sound being cut off more abruptly by *k*, *t*, *p*, than by *g*, *d*, *b*, can apply only when these letters are used as finals, and are therefore out of place when applied to the mandarin mutes. The differences between the several mandarin mutes must be in the different methods of *introducing* the breath, as they occur only as initials.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF MUTES.

##### A. FINAL MUTES.

1.—*Simple Surds.* English *k*, *t*, *p*, as finals,—in which the vowel sound is cut off abruptly the instant the organs come into contact; and, when the next syllable commences with a vowel, or with certain consonants, a puff of unvocalized breath occurs as the organs open, though before many consonants no breath escapes.

2.—*Close sonants.* English *g*, *d*, *b*, as finals,—in which vocal sound continues after the organs are closed; and, when the next syllable of the same clause commences with a vowel, no unvocalized breath is allowed to escape on the opening of the organs, though, at the end of a clause, or before certain consonants in the same clause, an escape of breath occurs.

##### B. INITIAL MUTES.

1.—*Explosive Surds.* Mandarin *k'*, *t'*, *p'*, or aspirated mutes,—in which there is a strong explosion of unvocalized breath before the vowel commences.

2.—*Blown Surds.* English *k*, *t*, *p*, as initials,—in which there is a slight puff of unvocalized breath before the vowel commences.

3.—*Open sonants.* Mandarin *g', d', b'*, or unaspirated mutes,—in which there is no sound before the organs are opened, and the vowel is made to break forth with considerable stress without allowing the escape of any unvocalized breath.

4.—*Compound sonants.* English *g, d, b*, as initials,—in which a single letter represents a compound sound which is both close and open; for vocal sound commences before the opening of the organs, and, after the opening, swells into the vowel without allowing the escape of any unvocalized breath.

The English initial sonants often commence with the opening of the organs, and in this form approximate very closely to the corresponding mandarin sonants. Especially is this the case when the latter occur in unaccented syllables.

In a careful classification of the English and mandarin mutes, we find it necessary to distinguish three kinds of surds and three kinds of sonants. Another series of initial mutes can be made by pronouncing a close *g* before an aspirated *k'*, a close *d* before an aspirated *t'*, and a close *b* before an aspirated *p'*. The aspirated *g, d, b*, of the Sanscrit, usually written *gh, dh, bh*, may have been pronounced in this way.

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BIBLICAL RESEARCHES.

II. CUSHITE ETHNOLOGY.

By Rev. J. S. McILVAINE.

THE investigation of the location of Paradise, the results of which were given in a previous paper, of necessity involved the question as to the location of the land of Cush. The facts gathered in relation to Cushite ethnology will now be presented.

Of the five sons of Cush, or rather the five families descended from him, the youngest is easily located. I quote from Gesenius; “On Egyptian monuments the name S. B. T. K. or Sabatoca, appears as the proper name of the Ethiopians, so that Sabteca can hardly be sought for elsewhere.” And we know that the Ethiopians with whom the Egyptians had to do, were those living on the upper waters of the Nile, who rose superior to the other nations of Africa, sometimes overcoming and ruling for a time the Egyptians themselves. A Chinese map of the eastern hemisphere marks off a district embracing Abyssinia and extending across to the west coast of Africa as the country of the straight-haired negroes. They seem to have been the macrobian Ethiopians so admired by the Greeks. Thus a portion of the descendants of Cush are traced to Africa. But we are not warranted in making

Cushite the equivalent of African, since many other descendants of Ham also settled in Africa and probably some Shemites, on the eastern Gold-coast. Of the other sons of Cush, we find no certain traces in Africa. Josephus' identification of the first-born, Seba, with the inhabitants of Meroe on the Nile, rests upon his single testimony. It is favored by the fact that the Sabeans are spoken of as distinguished for tall stature (Isa. xlvi: 14), which is remarked as a characteristic of the people in the vicinity of Meroe by profane writers. But since we have such good authority for comprehending these people under the name of Sabteca, the question as to Seba also being found here must be left open until the claims of other localities have been considered. Raamah, the next older son, is without doubt to be connected with Arabia. The names of his two sons being the same with two names found among the Joktanidæ, shows that they occupied the same country. Of Dedan, we learn elsewhere that the people were merchants; of Sheba, that is was in the ends of the earth. Perhaps crossing the sea from Arabia, they extended their colonies among the islands of the south. We do not find the third son of Cush satisfactorily accounted for. Perhaps his name Sabta is connected with Caphtorim—Copt—Egypt; in which case his descendants must have mixed with those of Mitzraim. Going eastward from Arabia, the traces of Cushite people do not cease, showing that they did not all migrate toward the south-west. The testimony of Herodotus is decisive. In his third book, while speaking of the twenty satrapies into which the kingdom of Darius was divided, and the amount of revenue received from each, he says (and let it be remembered that he described what was under his own eyes):—"The Parinaceans and Asiatic Ethiopians paid four hundred talents. This was the seventeenth division." A little below he says, that the Ethiopians bordering on Egypt, whom Cambyses subdued when he went against the macrobian Ethiopians, brought, every third year, a present of gold, ebony, &c. Thus he makes a clear distinction between the Asiatic and African Ethiopians. In his description of Xerxes' army, his testimony on this point becomes still more explicit; among others, "the Ethiopians were clad in panthers' and lions' skins, and carried bows not less than four cubits in length, &c. The Ethiopians from the sun-rise (for two kinds served in this expedition), were marshalled with the Indians. They did not at all differ from the others in appearance, but only in their language and their hair, for the eastern Ethiopians are straight-haired, but those of Libya (who were not Cushites) have hair more curly than that of any other people. These Ethiopians were accoutred almost the same as the Indians." The precise location of this people is not stated, but is evidently near India, either to the west or the north-west. The geographer Ritter places them in Gedrosia, the

southern part of Beloochistan, which, it will be remembered, is a continuation of the Arabian desert eastward.

Herodotus made a distinction between the Ethiopians and the Indians. But he states that the more remote Indians were exceedingly barbarous,—that they all had a complexion closely resembling the Ethiopians, and otherwise compares the two peoples, showing that he suspected a relationship between them. More explicit, though indirect, is the testimony of three ancient versions of the Bible, the Syriac, the Chaldean and the Arabic, which frequently render the word *Cush* as *India*. Five cases are mentioned in Smith's *Bible Dict.* viz., 11 Chron. xxi: 16; Isa. xi: 11; xviii: 1; Jer. xiii: 23; Zeph. iii: 10. In the first of these, mention is made of "the Arabians, that were near the *Cushites*." It seems best to take this as referring to the Asiatic Ethiopians of Herodotus. In Isa. xi, the writer, while enumerating various countries, goes from Egypt to *Cush* and from *Cush* to *Elain*; as if the word *Cush* had brought him back by one sweep across Arabia to the head of the Arabian Sea. In Isa. xviii, and Zeph., the term "rivers of *Cush*," while it may include the Nile, certainly refers to the rivers of *India*; since the very name is found in *Calcutta* and *Calicut*, the identity of which with the *Nahare* *Cush* of the prophet can hardly be doubted. But whether the rendering of *Cush* by *India* in these cases be correct or not, the fact remains, that the *Syrians*, *Jews* and *Arabians* who made these versions, regarded the *Indians* as belonging to the family of *Cush*. More weighty testimony could scarcely be adduced, since these translators, having *African Ethiopia* on their west and *India* on their east, could not confuse the two. Moreover they belonged to nations among whom the ethnic traditions, as well as the sense of Scripture, were probably best preserved.

In modern times, Europeans have come so much in contact with the *Brahmin* and *Mussulman* population of *India*, that we have, in a great degree, overlooked the older inhabitants, who have been pushed southward and into the mountains, except as they have amalgamated with later immigrants. This gradual driving back into remote regions, and amalgamation, together with the effects of climate and mode of life, have caused the *Ethiopian* name to be forgotten in *Asia*. But the facts which tradition had lost trace of, scientific research has recovered and set forth anew, giving them names of its own making. I quote from Dr. Carpenter, the distinguished English Physiologist. "The inhabitants of the great peninsula of *Hindustan* have been commonly ranked under the *Caucasian* race, both on account of their physical conformity to that type, and also because it has been considered that the basis of their language is *Sanscritic*. It is certain, however, that this opinion is incorrect, at least with regard to a large proportion

of the existing population of India; and there is strong reason to believe that no part of it bears any real relation of affinity to the Indo-European group of nations, except such as may be derived from a slight admixture. Thus the Tamulian, which is the dominant language of southern India, is undoubtedly not Sanscritic in its origin (although containing an infusion of Sanscrit words), but more closely conforms to the seriform [Chinese] type; and many of the hill tribes in different parts of India speak peculiar dialects, which, though mutually unintelligible, appear referable to the same stock. Now it is among this portion of the population of India that the greatest departure presents itself from the Caucasian type of cranial formation, and the closest conformity to the Mongolian; the cheek-bones being more prominent, the hair coarse, scanty and straight, and the nose flattened. Sometimes the lips also are very thick, and the jaws project, showing an approximation to the prognathous type." [This term he defines elsewhere as indicating the projecting outward of both upper and lower teeth, so that they meet at an oblique angle. In Dr. Latham's Ethnology, it is noted as a characteristic of the African races]. "In the opinion of Dr. Latham and Mr. Norris, the various dialects of northern India are to be regarded as belonging, in virtue of their fundamental nature, to the same group with those of high Asia, notwithstanding the large infusion of Sanscrit words which they contain; this infusion having been made at an early period by an invading branch of the Arian stock, of whose advent there is historical evidence, and whose descendants the ordinary Hindoo population has been erroneously supposed to be. According to this view, the influence of the Arian invasion upon the language and population of northern India was much akin to that of the Normans on England; the number of individuals in the invading race being so small in proportion to the original population, as to be speedily merged in it." Now what is all this but giving a new name, which the author in another place admits to be unsatisfactory, to the original Cushite population of India? It need only be added that the name Havilah occurs in the genealogical table as that of Cush's second son; so that our present argument, and that before made, to show that Havilah means India, are mutually confirmatory.

To complete our view of the family of Cush, we must find the location of his eldest son Seba, and also define the land of Cush, spoken of in Gen. x, and elsewhere in Scripture. We must endeavor to ascertain these points from the statements made in Scripture, and the hints given in heathen traditions, geographical names and scientific research. In Gen. x: 10, Nimrod the Cushite is said to have established a kingdom in Babylonia. This was the beginning of his kingdom. The next verse reads in the English version, "Out of this land went

forth Asshur." But the majority of interpreters follow the marginal reading of the Jewish annotators, which is, "He (Nimrod) went out into Assyria." So Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, Lange's and Murphy's commentaries. I quote from the latter. 1st.—The discourse relates to [the sons of Cush, which Asshur was not, and especially to] Nimrod. 2nd.—The words admit of this rendering. 5th.—Asshur would have been as great a man as Nimrod, if he had founded Nineveh. 6th.—The beginning of his kingdom implies an addition to it [or a change in it].

These Biblical statements are abundantly confirmed by modern researches at Babylon, and Nineveh. The name Nimrod is found attached by tradition, not only to the Birs Nimrud near Babylon, but to the dam of Surh el Nimrud across the Tigris below Mosul, and to the mound of Nimrud in the same neighborhood, which are near the site of Nineveh. The Cushite origin of Babylon is also attested by those who have studied its cuneiform literature. One writer (who, though so wrong-headed as to suppose that the Cushites came from Africa, is quoted as an authority) says:—"there are strong reasons for deriving the non-Semitic primitive language of Babylonia, variously called by scholars Cushite and Scythic, from an ante-Semitic dialect of Ethiopia, and for supposing two streams of migration from Africa into Asia, in very remote periods, one of Nigritians through the present Malay regions; the other and later one, of Cushites from Ethiopia, properly so called, through Arabia, Babylonia, and Persia, to western India." Sir Henry Rawlinson also, is said to have brought forward remarkable evidence tending to trace the early Babylonians to Ethiopia, particularly the similarity of their mode of writing, to the Egyptian, alluding to the ideographic writing, which seems characteristic of the Turanian nations; at least such alone have kept to it, partly or wholly, in spite of their after knowledge of phonetic characters. It is to be hoped that Rawlinson's views have been misrepresented; for he, as a reader of the Bible, ought to know that the dispersion of the descendants of Noah began in Asia, and that Nimrod did not need to reach Babylon by way of Africa.

These oriental scholars also tell us that Nineveh derived its civilization from Babylon; which is specially marked, in that the use of brick for building, which was necessary at Babylon, was continued without necessity at Nineveh, where stone abounds. The classical tradition also endorses this order of succession; since it makes Ninus, the founder of Nineveh, to be the Son of Belus, the founder of Babylon; though in both cases, it is obvious that a fictitious name has been given to the founder, derived from the name of the city. We see therefore, that the first movement of a part at the least of the Cushite people, was directly northward.

From the Bible account we may make one further inference; viz., that the Cushites did not permanently occupy Nineveh and Assyria; since the name Asshur, (which means the country beyond—*into which one advances*, and was attached secondarily, by association, to the people of that land) appears among the descendants of Shem. The classical tradition gives us a little more help. It makes Ninus to have been a great king who extended his conquests over Armenia, Media, Bactria, India, and even Egypt (though another authority says that the invasion of India was not successful). We have in this apparently a shadowing forth of the dispersion of the Cushites, one branch passing off into Africa, another into India, while others continued the northward movement, and some went towards the north-east. The occupation of Bactria, the country of the Oxus, is especially dwelt upon; as in that difficult campaign, Ninus was aided by the counsels of Semiramis, who afterwards became his wife. If we have not mistaken the sense of this tradition, there should be traces of the Cushites in the country between the Black Sea and the Oxus, and beyond it; since it would have been difficult for any people to stand still in this great gang-way of ethnic migrations. Looking at our maps, we find in this vicinity the names Kashmere, (the Paradise of Cush?), Kashgar (the river of Cush?), and Hindoo Koosh. We learn also that the Turkish name of the Caspian Sea is Khoosghon Denghizi, in which the Cush is represented by a most emphatic spelling. The same sea was called by Arabic and Byzantine writers, Sea of Khozares, from the name of a powerful people in its vicinity; and by the Greeks the Scythian sea. Let us fix our attention on this word Scythian. It was first used by the Greeks on the Black sea; being applied to a people partly nomade and partly agricultural, who lived north of that sea, who had formerly been expelled from Asia by the Medes. After the conquests of Alexander in Asia had enlarged geographical knowledge, the same name Scythian was applied to a large tract of upper Asia, from the river Volga on the west to Serica (China) on the East, and India on the South. The derivation of this term has never been satisfactorily explained, but the line of tradition which we are following forces us to the hypothesis, that the root Scuth is nothing else than Cush in a Greek form.

The entire reasonableness of this identification may be made apparent. The Greeks had no *sh* sound, and could, therefore, only approximate to the form *Cush*. The Septuagint has *Chous*, throwing the aspiration back to the initial consonant. But we find that the letter *sh* in Hebrew sometimes interchanges with *th*, and that the frequent use of *th* in place of *sh* is a peculiarity of the Araman or northern branch of the Semitic language, with which the Greeks of

the Euxine were in contact. The word Cuthite, given as the name of a portion of the people transported to north Palestine by the Assyrians, is suggested in Smith's *Dictionary* as derived from Cush, and is, no doubt, the intermediate form between Cushite and Scythian. As to the initial *s*, it is a rule of Greek euphony that "*s* may be prefixed to certain consonants." If any one will take up a good Greek Dictionary, he will find, among the words beginning with *sk*, quite a number referred to roots without the *s*. Especially might we expect an *s* to be affixed, when a slight sibilation in the latter part of the word was neglected in the pronunciation.

In support of this position, we should consider that Khoosgon and Scythian, being names given to the same sea in different languages, are, by presumption, the same name. With this conclusion, moreover, correspond remarkably the traditions of the Scythians as given by Herodotus. They declared themselves the most recent of all the nations; their ancestor being the youngest of three sons who are called Lipoxais, Apoxais and Colaxais. The youngest having got possession of a bowl of golden workmanship which fell from heaven, the elder brothers surrendered the whole authority to him. We seem to see allusion in this to Noah's three sons, and the supremacy of the Hamites in the beginning of post-diluvian history. The Greek tradition in regard to the Scythians makes them descendants of Hercules, who, passing through that country, met with a female monster from whom he begat three children. He left with the mother one of his bows, saying that when the sons were grown, he who could draw the bow, should be kept in that country, and the rest sent away. He also gave her his belt, which had a golden bowl at the extremity of the clasp. When tried by this test, only the youngest son, Scythes, was able to draw the bow, and kept the territory. Herodotus adds that the Scythians to his day, still carried a cup at their girdles.

We meet here an interesting confirmation of our argument in its present stage from the Sacred record. If the Scythians are descendants of Cush and take their name from him, they, as so prominent a people, ought not to be unnamed among his sons, unless, indeed, the name of the common ancestor was retained by them. An examination of passages of Scripture which name Seba, shows conclusively that these northern Cushites are meant. The allusions in Isaiah to the valuable commerce and superior physical powers of the Sebans, agree well with what we know of the caravan trade of Higher Asia and the fame of the Scythians. Moreover, the word Seba in Hebrew is associated in a very odious way, with the idea of drunken revelry; see especially Deut. xxi: 20,—“A glutton and a *Seban*,” and Nahum i: 10. In Ezekiel xxiii: 42, some interpreters read “drunkards of the wilderness,” others

"Sebans of the wilderness." This corresponds but too well with the character of the Scythians, whose reputation in the ancient world is shown by the use of the words *skuthizo* and *episkuthizo* in Greek, meaning to drink immoderately,—like a Scythian. As to the name itself, Seba may be contracted from Hyperborea, the name for the north of Asia used by the Greeks; supposing that name to have been used from very early times by the Japhethites in Asia. Compare the modern name Siberia. Or we may take the domestic name of this people as given by the orientalist Von Hammer, *viz.*, Ssakalib, from which the Greeks and Latins derived their Saca. In spite of obvious objections, the first suggestion claims our preference.

Independently however of this name, the proof that the Scythians were Cushites is ample. To what has already been given, it is to be added, that oriental scholars find in the early language of Babylon, a Scythic or Turanian character (See Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Art., "Nimrod"), which has led some of the Bible-blind to infer that the Mongols descended from high Asia to establish themselves at Babylon. And finally, we find the knot of this argument tied by the fact mentioned on a previous page, that the presence of both Scythic and (southern) Cushite characteristics in the old language of Babylon, has made it a question by which of these names it may properly be designated.

We must now endeavor to follow the patriarch himself. First, as to his name. It is not a known Hebrew word, but the Scythian traditions given above make so prominent the golden cup, which was their ancestor's patrimony, that we naturally turn to the Hebrew *cus*—a cup,—as the basis of Cush's name. This was a common word, used also in the Syriac, Chaldee, Samaritan and Arabic. It may be that the aspirating of the final *s* was a local peculiarity reproduced in the Hebrew, which, in the case of more distant nations, adopted the names used by themselves. But it will be noticed that, in the Scythian tradition, the syllable *xais* is attached to each of the three brothers' names. It seems to give personality to the name, perhaps implying a degree of respect, corresponding to the use of *shih* (氏) in early Chinese, and perhaps equivalent to *ish* (man) in Hebrew. Thus Cus would become Cus-xais, the cup-man, in Scythian. The name Colaxais, given in the native tradition as the equivalent of Scythes in the Greek account, may be explained by the conjecture, that the Scythians used an *l* in inflecting words, as the Mongols use an *n*; somewhat as the Hebrew sometimes uses a *th* to put a word into the construct state. Herodotus' further testimony that the Scythians called themselves Scolotoi, a name evidently based on Cola(xais), adds to the probability that the names are the same.

The reader must have been struck with the mention of Hindoo

Koosh on a previous page. Here is the patriarch's name unmodified except by an adjective designating him as a Hindoo, a title which may well have belonged to the ancestor of the Hindoos. Now, if the tradition which connects the name of Nimrod with great architectural works in the plain of Shinar, is entitled to respect, so also must that which associates his father's name with this mountain be admitted as strong proof that this was one of the stopping-places in Cush's pilgrimage. We are told that when the army of Alexander penetrated this region, they gave it the name of Indian Caucasus, which makes it apparent that the local name was the same then (and doubtless from time immemorial) as now. But how could the name of a man have so fixed itself to a locality unless he frequented that place? A similar, though perhaps less decisive, argument may be based on the name Kashmere. The wanderer might well delay a little in that corner of Paradise. But the Kashgar has equal claims to have been visited by Cush. We seem at this point to see him setting out for the regions of the rising sun, by the great caravan-route of later times. The sea, which in those days divided interior Asia, may have diverted his course; for we find his name again distinctly written in Calcutta (rivers of Cush), in connection with the rivers of Bengal. Nor should we think it strange that the ancestor of a people who dispersed themselves so widely in the very beginning of post-diluvian history, should have visited many lands during the hundreds of years which he passed on earth. It will be interesting to hear what materials, if any, the traditions of the Hindoos can add to the history of their ancestor.

The most reliable form of the early Chinese tradition\* states, that the dispersing human race made themselves rafts, on which to cross the seas which surrounded their early home in the Himalayas. Among the first immigrants was a remarkable man, of large person, with high forehead, body thickly covered with brown [perhaps dingy] hair, and teeth projecting like a wild boar's. Thus is introduced to us the famous P'an-ku shih, also called Hun-tun (渾敦 or 漢沌) shih.

It is further related of him, that, seeing the mountains in an impassable state, and the streams blocked up and spread abroad so as to obstruct intercommunication, he taught the people to use ferries and floating bridges and to fill up gaps cut by the water. With his chisel and hammer, he set to work on the difficult passes, and in a little while they were opened out [This seems to have been in or near Ssu-ch'uan]. The people appreciated his services and honored him; whereupon P'an-ku became a ruler of men, and the distinction was first made between prince and people. He would frequently sit

\* My authority is the "Complete History of Gods and Heroes" 神仙通鑑.

on an elevated place, while the people gathered to hear his instructions. He explained to them the principles of the universe, told them of the three lights (sun, moon and stars) above, and the four seas (the limits of the earth) beneath. His hearers forgot fatigue. His supremacy over the people gave place to that of T'ien huang, the first of the white kings,—that is on the supposition that they reigned in China at all;—but he seems to have lived on at least until the time of Fu-hi, in whose day Hun-tun shih is mentioned as a subordinate chieftain. When he died at a good old age, the people used the implements which he had employed to chisel out the hills, in making him a grave, which is said to be at Chin-kiang on the Yang-tsze kiang. Then the people of the West bethought them of P'an-ku's explorations about the head waters of the Ho and the mouth of the Kiang, and coming hither, mapped out the course of his travels, and with mutual admonitions to virtue, rendered their tribute of respect to the dead. His sons to the number of seventeen, the eldest being Heh-t'ien shih (赫天氏), feeling themselves incompetent to govern, retired into the hills of Shan-tung.

Now who is this Chinese patriarch whose genial wisdom and sturdy, public-spirited labors have given him so lasting and so pleasant a fame among his people? Let us examine the name given to him,—P'an-ku shih. The *shih* is merely the personal designation mentioned above. The *ku* is a simply written character, which has now and always has had the sense of "ancient." This sense is probably derived from its connection with this ancient man. As used in his name therefore, it does not necessarily have any such meaning, and may be the representation of any foreign sound; so that we do no violence in regarding it as equivalent to the *Cus* of the Hebrew. Combining it with the *shih*, we have the closest approximation which the Chinese language can make to *Cush*.

The *p'an* (盤) is defined as a general name of all vessels for containing water, no matter of what material. The old form of the character, however, had the *metal* as its radical element, instead of *vessel* as now. In this form it becomes still more significant, showing that P'an-ku had about him some kind of a metal vessel.\* And among the few scores or hundreds of men then living, one Ku-shih having a metal vessel as a badge, must be identified as *Cush* with his golden heir-loom cup hanging at his girdle.

His other name, Hun-tun, as sometimes written, means "chaos of waters", and most distinctly associates the bearer of it with the del-

\* The close study of this word *p'an* and its phonetic 般 (old form 舶), creates the impression, that they have to do with the ark of Noah, and are derived from Hebrew (*ma bâl*, the term used for the deluge).

uge. But the other form of the name (without the water radical), is that given in the text of the *Shen sien tung kien* and, as less easy of explanation, is, according to the rule of modern criticism, more likely to be original. This gives us Hun-tun as a sound without significance. It is so near an approximation to Hindoo, that we no longer doubt that this man was the Hindoo Cush.

Chinese tradition unquestionably puts P'an-ku at the very beginning of history. He is often, indeed, represented with mallet and chisel, hewing out the heavens; and again his person becomes the basis of all existing things, his bones forming the rocks, his flesh the soil, his hair the forests, his veins the rivers, &c. These representations agree with the testimony of tradition, that the colony at whose head P'an-ku came, were the first settlers of China. Other people have come in subsequently, but these were no aborigines. Those tribes which have been so designated are but off-shoots. The *Lu shih* names many of them as descendants of ancient princes. Thus the Chih-ti (赤狄) are derived from Fu-hi; the Kiang of the west and the Man of the South are derived from Shen-nung. The Three Miau are descendants of Huan-t'o (驥頭), of the same family who was employed by king Yau as Minister of war, but being insubordinate and violent, was banished. The ready explanation is, that the scions of princely families would not brook subjection to new rulers, and by separating themselves, became barbarians. Being without literature and few in numbers, their language would be in a state of constant flux, as is the case with some of the tribes of Africa. Hence their dialect would soon become unintelligible to the body of the nation. These Miau-tze now exist only in the south of China, and merely embody, in a more striking form, the features of clan associations, family feuds long standing, and local dialects, which characterize the south as distinguished from the north. It is said that these people themselves claim to be Chinese from other parts of the country. That religious as well as family causes have contributed to this process of segregation, is apparent from the interesting fact, that in Kueicho there is a tribe called western Miau, who wear the badge of the cross and worship Thomas.

The fact that P'an-ku is made by the Chinese the ground and root of their national existence, already justifies the designation of their land as the "land of Cush" by Moses. A few facts from their history will further endorse this name. The three rulers following P'an-ku in common tradition are all called Huang (皇). This word now means *imperial*; but the character consists of two obvious elements, meaning *white king*. The word thus corresponds to the title given by the Siberian Mongols to the Czar of Russia. A strong argument may be made, to show that the first and third at least, of these Huang, were

Japhethites. Among the Five Ti who succeeded them, there appears to have been a mixture of color; so that the term *Li min*, "black commons," became a traditional designation of the common people.\*

During this time also came up the term Chu-ho, as a title of the subordinate chiefs. The word *chu* is now commonly used in the sense of "many," or simply to indicate the plural. But this sense does not explain its use in the title Chu-ho. A clue to a different meaning is found in a statement which appears to antedate the Chu-ho; *viz.*, that Sue-jin (who taught the use of fire) received his authority from the ancient Chu (古諸). The impression given is that this originally was the ethnic designation of the Cushites. The derivation from *ku* is not difficult, especially as we have *kh* in the Turkish Khooshgoon, giving an intermediate form. With this agree the facts, that in the Hsia dynasty, of which we are about to speak, the official title Chu-tsze (*tsze*, "sons") was given to the sons of princes, ministers and private officers; and that Confucius long after, wishing to give a national designation to his country, as distinguished from the barbarians, called it the Chu-hsia.

Hsia is a word, the éclat of which has not died away to this day. "The Flowery Hsia" is perhaps the fondest designation of this country in the usage of native Scholars. Looking at the old forms of the character, attention is arrested by one consisting of two common characters, *cheng* (正), "upright, correct," and *ming* (命) "destiny." This yields the sense of "rightful succession," and shows that this idea was associated with the name. The earliest trace of the word which I have seen, is in connection with Shen-nung, the father of Chinese agriculture. A writer of the Han dynasty states, that Shen-nung of the southern country "administered the Hsia (司夏)." Hsia is here understood by the lexicographer to mean the Summer, according to the familiar use of this word to denote the warm season. It seems better to derive the sense "summer" from an earlier use, as the name of a southern country on the upper Kiang; that is, southern in reference to the historical centre of China, which was located on the Huang ho. With this agrees one traditional location of the birth-place of Shen-nung, within the region commonly called Kiang-hsia. We may take it that he, though probably never becoming the chief ruler of China, obtained a recognition as the head of the Cushite line, the chief of Hsia. His family only succeeded in maintaining themselves for a time in Shan-tung.

The impression gained from perusing hastily the records of those unsettled times is, that while ability and meritorious services gave temporary ascendancy to individual princes, there was a restless,—

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\* Another explanation of this term is authorized by Mencius, who uses it to designate the younger people as distinguished from the grey-headed. It may have arisen from the contrast between white-haired patriarchs and their subjects.

often rebellious—spirit among the Chu-ho, which was not set at rest until the Great Yü united with his well deserved title of duke of Hsia his great public services in allaying the inundation. He boldly accepted black as his dynastic color, and established the Hsia succession, which continued for seventeen generations.

We find strong support for these views in regard to the significance of *Hsia* from another use of this word. The name western Hsia is given to a nation in the west with which King Yau engaged in war. There is also a "Great Hsia beyond the shifting sands," mentioned subsequently, being probably the same nation. The question is of vital importance to our argument; with what western people did the dominant race of China claim kinship? The information afforded by the dictionary and the *Classic of Hills and Seas* agrees well with the statement of Biot that "Ta-hsia is the ancient name of Bactriana" (*Dictionnaire des noms anciens et modernes*, &c. p. 311). We have already noticed the occupation of that country by Ninus. Anthon's *Class. Dict.* states that there are traces of a powerful kingdom in Bactria, prior to the rise of the Medan power. We are thus justified in concluding that the great western Hsia was the Scythian people, who, according to the ancient geographers of the west, occupied central Asia up to the borders of China. We may infer farther, that *Hsia* represents the Scythic word *rais* as attached to the name Colaxais, and was a designation of the royal line. The statement made above that Chu-hsia probably consists of the same elements as, and is the same word with Ku-shih and Cush, is thus justified.

The two subsequent changes of dynasty left Chu-hsia still a proper designation of China in Confucius' time; since the two families of Shang and Chow both claimed close connexion with the Hsia, being, in fact, branches of the same line.

So things continued for more than fifteen centuries, until the foreign family of T'sin violently established itself. But the body of the people quickly rallied about the Han, and to this day holds to Han as its ethnic name. There is reason to suspect a deep-lying cause for this. The name comes from a part of the country where P'an-ku's colony seems to have settled; and its use reminds one of the name Ham, adopted by the descendants of Cush's brother Mizraim in Egypt. Especially do the expressions 'an old Han,' 'a blind Han,' 'a farming Han,' remind one of the familiar use of *Celt* in reference to the Irish, and *Saxon* among the English, as designating the original basis of the population.

Having now traced the descent of both Chinese and Hindoos from Cush, it may be well, before closing, to adduce the testimony of modern science as to evidences of relationship between the two peoples. I

quote again from Dr. Carpenter. "The conformity to the Mongolian type [say rather Cushite, since the Mongols have probably a much larger infusion of Japhetic blood than the Chinese, and ought not to give name to the class] is most decidedly shown by the nations which inhabit China, Tibet, the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and the base of the Himalayan range. They are associated by certain linguistic peculiarities, which distinguish them from all other races. Passing from China towards India, through the Burmese empire, there is so gradual a transition toward the true Hindoo type, that no definite line of demarcation can be anywhere drawn." Then follows the passage quoted above in connection with India.\*

The ground gone over in this discussion is, to a large extent, new to the writer, and the conclusions have been hastily formed. Doubtless some of the suggestions made will appear crude and some may be found incorrect. But the evidence of the general correctness of the conclusions reached has presented itself so readily and abundantly, that they are presented with confidence to the public, in the hope that others will carry the argument on to a perfect demonstration.

The results which we have reached, give us enlarged views of the Bible as the world's great *Doomsday Book*. God caused Moses to make out that great muster-roll of the Sons of men in the tenth chapter of Genesis. We have not known where China belonged; but now we see her one of the first born of the nations. With the settlement of this problem, all difficulty as to comprehending the whole human race among the Sons of Noah disappears. This is a matter of encouragement to every Christian. But especially must it interest those who preach to the Chinese, to find the name of this people written so prominently in God's book, and to have so rich a passage as Isaiah xviii, for encouragement to work among this ancient people.

Incidentally to our main argument, we have noticed the connection of several Chinese words with Hebrew originals. In each case, there has been more or less of historical ground for the identification; and the simple rule has been the dropping of unemphatic syllables and weak consonants in order to get a monosyllabic form. The decisive conclusion is that the Hebrew is the root of the Chinese,—the monosyllables of this language being mutilated reproductions of polysyllabic words. From all which it follows, that those who wish to study the original language, as well as those who study the original history and original religion of mankind, must turn to the Hebrew Scriptures.

P. S. The recognition of P'an-ku shih as Bacchus, the God of the Cup, and as Belus, the deified founder of Babylon, comes too late to have place in the body of this paper, and my classical Dictionary is

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\* See Note at the end.

now hundreds of miles away. But since Bacchus was under Hammim the head of the Egyptian pantheon, it follows that Jupiter, the head of the Roman gods, was Japhet; and that Pluto was Ham, living as an outcast in the dark end of Asia. Uranos, of the Greek mythology, may have been the *Wu-lung shih* (五龍氏), who traversed the rivers riding on dragons. Minerva is probably Shen mei nü-wa (神媒女媧), the sister and successor of Fu-hi, who labored to regulate marriage, establishing customs which are regarded to this day as the safeguards of the purity of society in China. If the mythology of Greece and Rome delineates the morals of the family of Noah, the necessity for revealed religion and the segregation of a chosen people becomes sadly manifest. Have the earthborn Ti Huang brothers anything to do with the Titans? Is Si Wang Mu (西王母), the Siva of India? She lived near Kun-lun, and was commissioned to execute the severity of Heaven and the five woes (同天之厲及五殘).

NOTE.—I append, without endorsing, a summary of Dr. Latham's classification of the human race. "One class called Japhetidæ embraces the Arian family. Another called Atlantidæ, includes the African and Shemitic families. The rest of mankind are thrown together as Mongolidæ, with the following divisions. (1) Altaic, subdivided into Seriform (Chinese, Siamese, &c.) and Turanian (Mongol, Turk, &c.). (2) Dioscurian (Georgian, Circassian, &c.). (3) Oceanic (Australasians). (4) Hyperboreans. (5) Peninsular (Koreans, Japanese, &c.). (6) American (aborigines). (7) Indian (Tamil, Pulinda, Indo-Gangetic, Cashmerian)." Prof. Max Müller's Turanian class of languages covers the same ground, so far as Asia is concerned. I regret that I have not been able to look into Mr. Edkins' work on *China's Place in Philology*.

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#### THE TERMS FOR 'GOD' AND 'SPIRIT.'

In the last Number of the *Recorder*, it was stated that the Committee of Arrangements for the General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in China was "engaged in considering how best to deal with the question of the terms for 'God' and 'Spirit.'" The result at which we arrived is stated in the following extract from our circular to the missionaries:—

"In view of the earnest desire expressed by many that the question of the proper terms to be used in Chinese for 'God' and 'Spirit' should be brought before the Conference, your Committee have felt that they could not pass the subject by in silence, as a few have desired.

After careful consideration, we have unanimously resolved, as representing both sides of the controversy, to name a joint Committee, consisting of three on each side, asking them to correspond with each other, compare views and plans, and if possible make such an arrangement as will harmonize all parties; and if it appears, after each section of the Committee has taken the views of those whom it represents, that such a basis has been found as will secure substantial unanimity, that they announce the fact by circular, and prepare for the Conference one or more papers advocating the said basis, in the hope that by the blessing of God on the effort, the whole Conference, and through them all the missionary body in China, may be induced to concur, and so secure the unanimity and harmony so much desired.

"But if no such basis can be found, we suggest that each section of the Committee prepare a paper containing a full, fair and thorough digest of all the arguments on the respective sides, that each paper be submitted to the opposite section of the Committee at least three months before the Conference, that so an opportunity may be given to correct errors and answer arguments, and that these papers, as finally prepared by the joint Committee, be submitted to the Conference without debate; and be published, either separately or together with the other papers prepared for the Conference.

"We have agreed to name, as constituting this joint Committee, the Right Rev. Bishop Russell, the Rev. J. L. Nevius, D. D., and the Rev. H. Blodget D. D., on the one part, and the Rev. J. Chalmers, M. A. Rev. R. Lechler and Rev. Chas. Hartwell on the other, with the understanding that if any member refuse to act, the other two on the same side may choose a member in his place."

In the circular itself there is a curious mistake,—the name of Bishop Burdon appearing instead of Bishop Russell's. The error probably arose either from a slip of my pen in transcribing the fair copy for the printer,\* or from my being unable to remain in Shanghai to correct the proofs; for I have before me the actual draft of the document as it was amended and adopted by the Committee. It has Bishop Russell's name, and all my colleagues agree with me that it is correct.

In this connexion I may take the liberty of mentioning (though as a rule the deliberations of such a committee are to be considered private) that no one could have a better right than Bishop Russell to be on the Committee on Terms, as the first suggestion of the plan, though not quite in the form finally adopted, came from him; and I am happy to say that he has consented to act on the Committee.

Mr. Hartwell has also accepted the duty.

CARSTAIRS DOUGLAS.

\* The printer's copy has been found, and as it contains the name of Bishop Burdon, it follows that this suggestion of Dr. Douglas is the true explanation of the error.—ED.

**THY WILL BE DONE IN EARTH,  
AS IT IS DONE IN HEAVEN.**

My Father, in that Heavenly home  
Beyond this high cerulean dome,  
No rebel will nor deed can come ;  
Thy will is done.

Thou wildest that Life's crystal stream,  
Shall flow by golden streets, that gleam  
With rays which from Thy Presence beam,—  
Thy will is done.

Thou wildest that the boughs shall sway  
With healing fruits above the way,  
And pearl-gates open stand by day ;  
Thy will is done.

Thou wildest that each heart shall glow  
With rapturous willingness to go  
On Thy blest messages ; and lo !  
Thy will is done.

Thou wildest that no wing shall tire,  
Never burn low Love's sacred fire,  
Nor cease the full melodious choir ;  
Thy will is done.

O blessed Will, the strength of Love,  
The energy of Thy Holy Dove ;  
On earth, as it is done above,  
Thy will be done.

My God, my Father, see Thy child  
Treading in grief earth's sinful wild,  
Thou will'st me trustful, undefiled. (Phil. ii:  
18-15.)  
Thy will be done.

'Tis not Thy will (I heard thee say), (John,  
vi: 39.)  
That I should be a castaway (Mat. xviii: 14.)  
But rise in glory ;—so I pray  
Thy will be done.

The bolt hurled by Thy gracious arm, (Ps.  
xlviii: 8.)  
The echoing storm need not alarm; (Ps. cxxxv:  
3, 6, 7.)  
Thou canst not err, Thou wilt not harm.  
Thy will be done.

Affliction, trial, mortal ill,  
These are not willingly Thy will: (Lam. iii: 33.)  
Thy tender mercy cries out still, (Ps. cxv: 9.)  
My will be done.

God of earth's families, hast Thou said,  
Thou wildest not the wicked dead, (Ez. xviii:  
23, 32; xxxiii: 11.)  
But that they turn and live instead.  
Thy will be done !

Wilt Thou have all men to be saved? (I. Tim.  
ii: 4, 6.)  
And free all souls by sin enslaved ? (John  
v: 40.)  
Thy chariot-floor with love is paved ;  
Thy will be done !

All crowns shall glitter on His brow,  
Who gave for me His blood to flow,  
To Jesus every knee shall bow, (Is. xlv: 23;  
Rom. xv: 14, 17 ; Phil. ii: 10.)  
His will be done !

All that my will can never choose,  
Sin's burden, Thou didst not refuse ;  
The sweet I gain, the bitter lose ;  
Thy will be done !

My Father, Master, Lord, fulfil  
In me the filial likeness, till  
All perfect grown in pupil-skill,  
I say, when Thou hast freed my will,  
Thy will be done !

A. E. M.

**Correspondence.**

DEAR SIR.—

The Presbytery of Ningpo met in the Fu-zin 府前 church, Ningpo, on the 15th of October last and continued its sessions four days.

The meeting was opened with an appropriate sermon by the Rev. D. N. Lyon, the retiring moderator, from Psalm lxviii: 28 ;— “Strengthen O God that which thou hast wrought for us.”

The Rev. Bao Kwóng-hyi 鮑光熙, pastor of the Yu-yiao 餘姚 church, was chosen moderator for the ensuing year. Twenty-four members, of whom fourteen are ministers, and ten ruling elders, were

in attendance. The body is now almost entirely a native one, having only four foreign presbyters. The native membership, which was increased by thirty-two during the year, is a little over five hundred, gathered into eleven churches, ten of which are ministered to by native pastors, and three of which pay their pastors' salaries in full, without any aid from the foreign Board. Of the other churches some pay their pastor's salary for nine and some for two months in the year.

Four young men, having been examined on their motives for seeking the ministry, and on the prescribed studies, were received as students of theology; making in all thirteen candidates for the ministry now under the care of presbytery. Eleven of the candidates were formerly pupils in the boys' boarding school at Hangchow; two of them are already licensed.

The Revs. J. A. Leyenberger and John Butler were appointed Theological Instructors for the year.

In connection with each of the churches, there are three or four places where there is daily preaching and book distribution.

The itinerations during the year into districts where we have no stated places for preaching, have been quite extensive, stretching from Ka-hing fu 嘉興府 and Cha-pu 乍浦 in the north of the province, to Tai-chow 台州 and W'en-chow 溫州 further south; thence round to K'u-chow 衢州, Lan-ch'i 蘭溪 and Kin-hwa, with numerous intervening cities, towns and villages.

I think there might be an experience gained from the working of such a body in the past ten or twelve years, that would throw at least some light on some of the questions proposed for discussion at the coming Conference of missionaries in Shanghai. *Self-support of the Native Church* is one of those questions. We need not expect self-support to be much sooner, nor need we fear that it will be much later, than the time when we have a membership adequate to the work, in wealth, numbers, intelligence and piety. Give us the membership, and the support may be left to take care of itself.

S. D.

HANGCHOW, Nov. 24th, 1875.

DEAR SIR.—

Two months ago, visiting with my brother some of his out-stations near Ningpo, we spent a night in the little coast-guard city of *Ta-sung* (大嵩) a few miles south of Chinhai. Our lodging was a small dilapidated temple of *Chin-wu* (真武), alias *Hüen-t'ien Shang-ti* (玄天上帝) the Taoist God of the North Pole.

Outside its chief gate were honorific inscriptions on paper in the usual manner. The horizontal one on the lintel was simply *Chin-wu kung*, "Palace of Chin-wu." But those on the side-posts were to my unlearned mind somewhat remarkable, in connection with the still unsettled controversy about the Chinese nomenclature for deity, spirit, etc.

(1.) The right hand inscription ran,—*Ti chin ch'ang kaou pei kwan* (帝真常高北關). "The *Ti*'s truth is ever higher than the northern barrier."

[November-

(2.) That on the left was,—*Shin wei p'u chaou nan fang* (神威普照南方), “The Shin's majesty widely irradiates the southern region.”

The seat of the sombre deity is technically north; his aspect, south. A pair of scrolls doubtless cannot contribute much towards deciding a great and intricate controversy. But I confess that the,—to me, unexpected—occurrence of the synonymous use of the rival terms,—for I cannot by any means think that *Shin* in (2), is simply the ‘spirit’ of *Ti* in (1),—did certainly confirm a long cherished wish, that the two great parties into which Christian missionaries are, on this subject divided, could advance towards reunion at least so far as to issue edicts of mutual toleration.

Parties which contain earnest and learned men, such as Legge, Chalmers and Douglas in the one, and Williams, McClatchie and Burdon in the other, are not likely either to surrender, the one to the other at discretion, or even to compromise in the sense of a combined use of the terms. But I confess it does seem to me, that they might at least recognize each other's claims to sincerity, research and Christian piety, so far as to induce the Bible Societies which have adopted their respective views, to issue with all their future editions, an advertisement alluding to the diversity of terminology, ascribing it to the difficulty of the language and subject matter, and expressing fraternal regard for the Christian brethren who in this matter differ from them.

Mr. Chalmers' letter and appended notice, in your issue for July-August was, as I read it, a hint in this direction. If the great societies would be induced to issue some such notice, it seems to me it would be a contribution,—not without value,—towards the final unification of the terminology, which will no doubt take place when a future generation of native Christians take up our work with the original Scriptures before them.

Please accept my suggestion for what it is worth, and believe me to be,

Yours faithfully,

G. E. MOULE.

HANGCHOW, Dec. 13th 1875.

DEAR MR. EDITOR.—

I have been rather surprised, that hitherto Canon McClatchie's *Confucian Cosmogony* has never been reviewed in the *Chinese Recorder*. I feel thankful, and believe that students of Chinese generally will feel so, towards the Canon for his *Translation of Section forty-nine of the “Complete Works” of the Philosopher Choo-foo-tze*, and for the able elucidation of the meaning of so many of the terms it contains.

I have however, like some other readers of his book, some misgivings in my mind, as to his *Shin* and *Shang-te*, which we should be glad to be allowed to discuss in the *Recorder*, in a spirit of candour and *sine ira*.

In an answer to Mr. Chalmers, Canon McClatchie speaks of two different *Shins*, viz:—a first 至神, whom he thinks he has proved to be 理 “Fate,” or the 無極 “Infinite” of Choo-foo-tz; and again a second *Shin* (see *The China Review*, September-October, 1875, p. 92); the latter being “man's rational soul” and “the rational soul of the

great extreme," and "is called 帝 or *Shang-te*." That this rational soul or mind is the ruling power in the universe stands unquestioned (see *Cosmog.* p. 63, par. 20); and we have also in the same passage the canonical saying, that, "that which constitutes him (mind) the Ruling Power is Fate." Again, Canon McClatchie in his notes (p. 160, note 33) says:—" *Shang-te* is God (神 *Shin*) in virtue of the inherent Fate." How then is it possible for the Canon to assert (*China Review*, p. 92), that this second *Shin* "is not spirit in our sense of the word," and to give as the reason, that, "this second *Shin* is Light and Ether?"

Of course it means that his "*Shang-te*" is "Light and Ether;" whereas he himself has translated,—"帝是理 The (*Shang-te*, Supreme) Emperor is Fate (*Cosm.* p. 69, par. 27)." Now, may I ask whether this 理 "Fate," or *Shin*, or "God" is Light and Ether? How can *Shang-te* be "the ruling power" and "the rational soul," while at the same time he is "Light and Ether;"—and also "primordial air," which has no power of motion and no *vis inertiae* in itself at all (*Cosm.* p. 134, note 36)? To say that this "Light and Ether" is the ruling power of the universe indeed, sounds paradoxical and self-contradictory. 子夏 Tz Hea a pupil of Confucius, according to the 易經來註, says:—"The source of the changes caused by the Air is called *Te*." Now, the Air or "Light and Ether" having no inherent power of motion, how can they be the source of the changes? This source 源 can be nothing but 理 "Fate;" because nothing but Fate can be the source of power and motion (*Cosm.* p. 23, par. 36). Farther, Fate being, according to *Cosm.* p. 69, par. 27, (*Shang*) *te*, the latter can but be Canon McClatchie's first *Shin*, "Fate,"—not his second.

The author has but little reason either, to call the second *Shin*, i. e. primordial air, or his *Shang-te*,—"Light and Ether," or "Demiurge;" because the Light and Ether are inseparable from Fate; the Chinese never having thought of the two as existing separately. "When Fate existed, then the Air existed." Fate without 氣 Air is, even with Choo-foo-tz, a mere abstraction. There is no such thing, nor was such a thing ever imagined as Fate without Air, or *vice versa*; therefore Choo-foo-tz can, in the chapter on "The Great Extreme," par. 1, say, that the Great Extreme is just the same as Fate; and in par. 3, that Primordial Air is "the Great Extreme." Cf. *Cosm.* p. 135, below.

With regard to the origin of things, he implies also that the Air originates from Fate; "but as regards time we cannot really predicate priority or posteriority as to time, of Fate and the Air. The Air depends upon Fate for action, and (*Cosm.* p. 9, above) Fate (alone) "cannot make anything." This latter sentence shows clearly enough that neither Fate, the infinite alone,—that is the Canon's first *Shin* or "God" apart,—nor his second *Shin* or "Light and Ether,"—whom he seems to consider separate from Fate, when he calls him "Demiurge, *Shang-te* or the horse of Fate,—can be the creator of the universe; because neither of them has an existence separate from the other.\* When Choo-foo-tz in one passage (p. 16, par. 11) is inclined to

\* As however, according to *Cosm.* p. 160, note 33, Canon McLatchie's first (*Shin* or) God, Fate, is inherent in the primordial air i. e. the demiurgic horse, this horse is a much more perfect being than its rider, and the rider is riding upon himself, and at the same time upon his horse.

ascribe priority to Fate, he contradicts himself ; as also,—it appears to me,—does Canon McClatchie, when he asserts, that his second *Shin*—Great Monad—*Shang-te*, “is not spirit in our sense of the word ;” because (*Cosm.* p. 160, note 133) he admits that Fate is inherent in *Shang-te*. Fate being inherent in “the great Monad, *Shang-te*,” the latter cannot lack any attribute ascribable to Fate. The unity of Fate and the Air which we have in the Canon’s *Shang-te*, does not deprive either of them of any of the attributes possessed by each separately. It rather enhances their respective qualities, and enlarges their capabilities by union. For instance, the air substance of the Great Extreme, though eternal and all-pervading, is dependant upon Fate for action ; on the other hand the great vacuum “Fate (alone,—*cf. Cosm.* p. 7, par. 10) neither devises nor plans, nor makes anything ;” and it is so, because “without the air substance it has nothing to rest upon ;” whereas as being combined, we have in them the being whom the author calls *Shang-te*, and whom Choo-foo-tz regarded as having sufficient ability to be the great framer of the universe. Now again, as regards the question, which of Canon McClatchie’s two *Shins*,—the Fate, or the *Shang-te* is to be Spirit, and which *Theos*, there can be no doubt, that his first *Shin*, “Fate,”—neither devising nor planning,—cannot be “spirit ;” because a spirit in the European sense of the word, thinks and feels, and has a will ; but needs no air substance to rest upon. For the same reason, he cannot be *Theos* ; for surely the *Theos* and *Theoi* of heathen nations, were reputed almost without exception, to think and feel and have a will ; whereas his second *Shin*, or *Shang-te*, as including the first, and therefore not being demiurge (although perhaps according to Choo-foo-tz and others, not immaterial in the full sense of the Christian’s God), is still the rational soul of the world,—has light as his spiritual substance ; and in Chinese literature regarding the creation and government of the world, has every characteristic of *Theos*, and almost every attribute of Jehovah ;—how could he then be other than a spirit ?

Of the truth of a part of the foregoing sentence, the Canon was evidently aware, when, in the Introduction to his *Cosmogony*, page ix, he says :—“no amount of attributes, however high-sounding, can ever exalt so material a thing (as *Shang-te*) into the throne of the true God.” To this we must reply on the other hand, that no amount of philosophical dissection, and of indiscriminate systematization, can dethrone *Shang-te* from the throne of the Most High, and make of him mere Light and Ether.

Finally, I feel constrained to say, that I consider the rendering of the character 氣 by “ether” and “air”, in a primordial and cosmogonical sense unjustified ; and that I have used these terms, only because they occur in Canon McClatchie’s *Cosmogony*, and because I might not have been understood, had I used any other translation of the character. I am fully persuaded however, that it means the breath of nature, and that it stands in opposition to 形 “body,” in the Chinese language, in analogy with other languages. Khang-hi explains it thus :—**形者生之舍也，氣者生之元也** “The body is the shell of life ; but the breath of nature is the root of life.” The “breath of nature” is just what Germans call, *der hauch* (breath) *Gottes in der natur* ; by

which they mean, the powers of nature, and that which constitutes life in animated beings,—and in an aesthetic sense that which adorns every object of nature. Khang-hi says also:—氣也者神之盛也 “The breath of nature is the fulness of spirit.” From this I conclude, that the rendering of 氣 by “ether” and “air” in a cosmogonical sense,” is entirely due to the misconception of European translators. Perceiving the materialism of the school of philosophers to which Choo-foo-tz belonged, these scholars have believed Chinese literature as a whole, both ancient and modern, to be permeated by coarse materialism. Hence they have substituted for the classical meaning of the word, its colloquial sense of “vapour,” “air” and “ether.” Their error is almost akin to that of the multitude at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, when they saw the effects of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles, but said it was the spirit of “new wine.” They doubtless had heard the “rushing mighty wind” caused by the *Ruach Elohim*, but would not acknowledge the *Ruach* himself.

In the introduction to his book, Canon McClatchie calls *Shang-ti* a material thing; but in the notes to the book, *Shang-te* is the rational soul of the world, and yet is primordial air. This rendering of 氣, I suppose, is thought to be founded on the dictum of Choo, saying;—“wherever the Air accumulates, Fate (*Shang-te*) is also there. Now, the Air has the power of condensing and forming things (*Cosm.* p. 7, below); and again (*l.c.* p. 1, par. 4), “Fate is Incorporeal, while the (氣) Air is coarse (便粗 not simply coarse) and has dregs.” Now this latter sentence cannot mean that 氣 in its primordial state has dregs, because it is *generated* by Fate, and Fate is *Shin*, *i. e.* “spirit.” If this reasoning be not admissible, then I am forced to the conclusion, that the Fate or *Shin*, or “God” who *generates* coarse air, and an air containing dregs, can himself be a spirit. It is a necessity to make this *conclusio retroversa* under the above condition; because Choo does not say, “*Elohim* created heaven and earth,” as we have it in *Genesis*; but “Fate generated the 氣.” Now a son is always of the same nature with his father; but it seems that with Choo-foo-tz, the having dregs and being coarser than Fate, has regard to no other than the accumulated and condensed form of 氣; for inasmuch as Choo says (*Cosm.* p. 113, par. 33) “The pure and bright portion of the Air is (*Shin*) God,” he surely would not deny that the primordial 氣 is the purest and brightest portion; being that which forms the rational soul of the *Cosmos* and of man. For this reason no doubt Canon McClatchie felt obliged to call the 氣 a *Shin*; but I hope he will see from the foregoing considerations, that there is an insuperable objection to calling it ether or air. With regard to what *Shang-te* is, I beg to commend to the Canon’s attention, Dr. Legge’s remarks in *The Notions of the Chinese concerning God and Spirits*, pp. 16, 17, in reference to the answer which the philosophers of Choo-foo-tz’s sect would give to the question, what is meant by *T’ien*, as follows, “*T’ien* is *Shang-te* the Ruler on high; and *Shang-te* is *li*, the rule of order, destiny, fate.”

Yours truly,

J. G. LOERCHER.

DEAR SIR.—

Is any one engaged upon, or proposing to undertake, the preparation of a Concordance of the *Wén-li* or Mandarin Bible or New Testament?

Has the work of making a Chinese-Hebrew Grammar been undertaken by any foreign resident in China?

Has there been a successful attempt at romanizing the Mandarin Chinese language;—or is any one now engaged in such a work?

What good commentary in *Wén-li* or Mandarin is there upon the Ten Commandments, besides the small one in *Wén-li* printed in Shanghai by the American Tract Society? and is there any such book in course of preparation?

Is there any book in the Christian literature of China, for the afflicted?

Will the Editor of the *Recorder* publish any replies which the above may elicit, withholding names of correspondents if requested?

As it is very desirable that time should not be lost in the preparation of books for China, will not those engaged upon works of general usefulness, notify the same through the *Recorder*? As many who begin translations or original works, are not sure of carrying them through to completion, and so would not wish to be known as engaged upon such works, a *nom de plume*, or single initial would answer.

INQUIRER.

ONE of the main objects contemplated in the establishment of the *Recorder*, was to afford missionaries an opportunity of communicating their thoughts to each other in regard to all that concerns mission work in China, and to furnish such news as may be of general interest to the body. We have to thank many of our brethren for the assistance they have given in this respect. Still we think the magazine might be much more largely availed of; and,—as one of the queries of our correspondent would seem to imply a latent doubt on the subject,—we may take the opportunity of saying that we shall be extremely glad if his communication should draw forth the information required, and shall be ready to publish anything that is likely to be useful or interesting to our missionary readers.

We think it highly desirable that all new publications should be made generally known to the missionaries throughout the empire, and are careful to notify all that are sent to us. It would be well if authors would make a point of forwarding to us a copy of any new work as soon as published. We do not deem so important our correspondent's suggestion that those who are engaged in the preparation of works should notify the same to the public; nor do we commend the practice, of using a *nom de plume*. There are arguments in favour of such a practice, and we by no means object to publish such communications, so long as the editor is informed who is the writer; but except in the case of signatures of well-established reputation, we believe such communications lose very much weight in public estimation.

The catalogue of missionary publications about to be forwarded to the Centennial Exhibition, which has been drawn up with considerable care, would go far towards answering some of our correspondent's questions.—ED.

## Missionary News.

### Births, Marriages and Deaths.

#### BIRTHS.

AT Amoy, on November 6th, the wife of the Rev. R. Gordon of a daughter.

AT Tokio, Japan, early in December, the wife of the Rev. H. Faulds, M. D., of the United Presbyterian Mission, of a son and a daughter,—twins.

AT Shanghai, on Dec. 10th, the wife of the Rev. J. S. Roberts, of a daughter.

AT Hangchow, on December 22nd, the wife of the Rev. W. S. Holt of a son.

#### MARRIAGES.

AT the house of the bride's mother, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, U.S. on Sept. 16th, by the Rev. Joseph Mateer, D. D. assisted by the Revs. C. B. Hatch and E. S. McKittrich, the Rev. HUNTER CORBETT, of Chefoo, China, to MARY C. NIXON, of Pittsburgh.

AT the house of D. J. Macgowan, M. D. Shanghai, on Oct. 30th, by the Rev. M. T. Yates, D. D. the Rev. SOLOMON CARPENTER of Shanghai, to MILDRED W. youngest daughter of the late Rev. Wm. H. BLACK, of London.

AT the Cathedral, Shanghai, on November 17th, by the Very Rev. Dean Butcher, the Rev. JOHN W. BREWER, of the Wesleyan Mission, Wuchang, to CATHERINE RACHEL, third daughter of the late William ROWE, of St. Agnes, Cornwall, England.

#### DEATHS.

AT Shanghai, on Nov. 6th, Mrs. Mary Caroline, wife of Rev. Wm. J. Boone, of the American Episcopal Mission at Wuchang, and daughter of the late C. A. De Saussure of Charleston, U. S. A., aged twenty-eight years and eight months.

AT the London Mission, Peking, on Dec. 12th, the infant daughter of the Rev. S. E. Meech, aged six months.

AT Kobe, Japan, on December 17th, 1875, Emily DelaCour, wife of Rev. John T. Gulick, missionary of the American Board at Kalgan, North China,—aged forty-two years.

AT Yokohama, Japan, on December 17th, Mrs. Jennie Hoyt, wife of Rev. M. A. Churchill, of the American Baptist Mission, Ningpo, China,—aged twenty-nine years.

TSENAN FOO.—The Rev. J. F. and Mrs. Crossette of the American Presbyterian Mission, arrived on November 5th, to strengthen the hands of Mr. McIlvaine in the work. They are located in a one-story native house, and have been carrying on their work without interruption. The two brethren however, are exposed to many insults as they walk through the streets of the city.

\* \*

CHEFOO.—Dr. Nevius writes: — “I have just returned from a visit to Chi-mi, where I saw very encouraging evidence of growth and development in the native churches. The Christians are improving every year in general intelligence, in their ability to read and understand the Scriptures, and in prudence in intercourse with their heathen neighbors. They have made arrangements to build another substantial chapel in the spring, without any pecuniary help from, and without consulting, their foreign teachers. They number now nearly three hundred.” Chi-mi is the place at which Mr. Corbett found such an encouraging work fifteen months since, and at the same time met with violent persecution.

\* \*

SHANGHAE.—Mrs. E. P. Capp of the American Presbyterian Mission at Tungchow, arrived by the *Alaska* on November 9th, from the United States.

Miss Campbell also arrived by the same steamer, *en route* to join the American Methodist Mission at Peking.

Mrs. J. W. Lambuth arrived by the *Nevada* on December 1st, from the United States.

By the same steamer, the Rev. A. P. Parker arrived to join the American Southern Methodist Mission at Soochow.

A very interesting work has lately sprung up in a hamlet a few miles north of Shanghae, in connection with the labors of the Rev. Woo Hoong-nyioh of the American Episcopal Mission. Thirty-two have recently been baptized, and the work is most encouraging.

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SOOCHOW.—Somewhat over a year ago, the American Southern Presbyterian Mission at this place, purchased a lot of ground in an aristocratic quarter of the city,—not far from the Confucian temple. As preparations for building began to be made, the literati became excited and began to persecute the seller of the property. He, to save himself, offered to purchase a lot for the missionaries in another quarter, and asked them to exchange; the literati encouraged the plan and the change has been effected, the missionaries securing a parcel of ground in a much more desirable location than the former one. A similar transaction took place in connection with the same mission in Hangchow,—on a much larger scale,—two years ago; and as in that case, the Soochow mission has benefited in obtaining a more secure possession of their property. The Mission of the American Presbyterian Church North have also lately purchased a lot in Soochow.

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NINGPO.—the Rev. E. C. Lord, D. D.

of the American Baptist Mission, arrived on December 2nd, from a short visit to the United States.

The Rev. James and Mrs. Bates, of the Church Missionary Society arrived from England on December 14th.

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JAPAN. TOKIO.—The first of a series of free popular lectures in Japanese, was delivered on Thursday night, December 16th in Tsukiji Hospital (Scotch U. P. Mission), by the Rev. D. Thompson. His subject was "The Mississippi Valley, past and present." The Hon. J. H. Bingham, U. S. Minister, presided, and gave an appropriate and instructive address, on the advantages of such lectures; which was afterwards translated into Japanese. Mr. Thompson's lecture was listened to with great interest by a crowded meeting. A vote of thanks to the chairman and lecturer brought the meeting to a close. Several Japanese gentlemen of eminence have promised to give lectures on interesting and important subjects during the winter.

YOKOHAMA.—Miss Kidder, and Miss Sands arrived on November 1st, to join the American Baptist Mission; the former to be located at Yedo, and the latter at Yokohama.

By the same ship the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. McKibbin arrived, *en route* to join the Am. Baptist Mission at Swatow, China.

## Notices of Recent Publications.

星辰考原 "Sing chin khao youen." *Uranographie Chinoise ou Preuves directes que l'Astronomie primitive est originaire de la Chine, et qu'elle a été empruntée par les anciens peuples occidentaux à la sphère Chinoise : ouvrage accompagné d'un Atlas Céleste Chinois et Grec*, par Gustave Schlegel, Docteur en Philosophie, Ancien Interprete du Gouvernement des Indes-Orientales Néerlandaise des Sciences, Membre du conseil de l'Institut pour la Philologie, la Géographie et l'Ethnologie des Indes-Orientales Néerlandaises à la Haye, et ancien Directeur de la Société des Arts et des Sciences à Batavia. Publié par l'Institut Royal pour la Philologie, la Géographie et l'Ethnologie des Indes-Orientales Néerlandaises à la Haye. La Haye, Librairie de Martinus Nijhoff. Leyde, Imprimerie de E. J. Brill. 1875. Two volumes 4to and a folio Atlas.

A sonorous title is perhaps a fit prelude to a remarkable book, and such we think the work before us may fairly claim to be. The gifted author is known by reputation to many China residents, from his able contributions to the local periodicals. The present is no ephemeral production, being the outcome of continuous investigation, prolonged through a series of years. The object of the work may be stated in brief to be,—to trace to their source the facts of *uranography*, and to give some account of their *raison d'être*. Dr. Schlegel is not the first who has attempted an interpretation of the quaint figures with which western science has been pleased to tapestry the starry vault above our heads;—but in the theory which he has put forward in elucidation, we believe he is quite original. In developing this theory, it is very evident he has not been unduly influenced by consequences; but following it up to its legitimate result, he has arrived at the notable conclusion,—that the names of the constellations on the Chinese sphere indicate an antiquity of about 17,000 years before the Christian era. Where all preceding theorists may be said to have failed, it is but fair that we should give a hearing to an authority of Dr. Schlegel's standing. We venture therefore to trace the steps by which he has arrived at this result; and preliminary to this we may state his four cardinal propositions:—

1st. The names on our celestial globes, as derived from the Egyptians and Greeks, are—with some few exceptions—utterly inapplicable to the circumstances of the ancient nations to whom they have been generally attributed.

2nd. The names of the constellations on the Chinese sphere, correspond exclusively to the condition of the Chinese,

3rd. Nearly all the names of the

Chinese asterisms being found on our western globes, they must have been borrowed from the Chinese by western nations, which have since added some new constellations.

4th. The antiquity of Chinese *uranography* is corroborated by the testimony of Chinese tradition and history, as also by the researches of European geologists.

The first of these propositions we may pass over without much misgiving; or at least take it for granted, and proceed to the consideration of the second. Here we are met by an anomaly at the outset, which has proved a sore puzzle to all Dr. Schlegel's predecessors. We may state it more intelligibly to Europeans, by using our familiar signs of the zodiac rather than the Chinese names. Thus with us *Capricornus* represents the Winter solstice, *Aries* the Vernal equinox, *Cancer* the Summer solstice, and *Libra*, the Autumnal equinox; corresponding in rotation with the North, West, South and East. The Chinese on the contrary are unanimously persistent in giving the rotation thus:—*Capricornus* for Winter,—in the North; *Libra* for Spring,—in the West; *Cancer* for Summer,—in the South; and *Aries* for Autumn,—in the East. This arrangement is no modern institution with the Chinese; for the very earliest astronomical notices they have handed down to us, are in the same (to us) grotesque attitude. In the infancy of society, when they first began rudely to divide the sphere into four parts for the convenience of agriculture, these were termed 龜 *Kwei*, the "Tortoise," roughly covering *Sagittarius*, *Capricornus* and *Aquarius*, and assigned to the North or Winter; 虎 *Hoo*, the "Tiger," for *Pisces*, *Aries* and *Taurus*, assigned to the East or Autumn; 鳥 *Neaou*, the "Bird," for *Gemini*, *Cancer* and *Leo*, assigned to the South or Summer; and 龍 *Lung*, the "Dragon," for *Virgo*, *Libra* and *Scor-*

pio, assigned to Spring and the East. It will be seen that the great difficulty here is, that while *Capricornus* and *Cancer* hold their natural positions, those of *Aries* and *Libra* are mutually reversed. As astronomical observation advanced, and each of these quarters became subdivided into seven parts, thus forming the zodiac of twenty-eight constellations, the same theory was still preserved, as it is to the present day. An able sinologue remarks on this question:—"This discrepancy does not seem however to trouble their minds at all, and we may safely leave it unexplained."\*

Another indication of the signs of the seasons, is found in the beginning of the *Shoo king*, one of the oldest Chinese documents extant. We read there that the emperor "commanded the second brother He to reside at..... the Bright Valley, and there respectfully to receive as a guest the rising sun, and to adjust and arrange the labours of the spring..... 'The star' he said 'is in *Neaou*; you may thus exactly determine mid-spring'..... He further commanded the third brother He to reside at Nan-keau, and arrange the transformations of the summer, and respectfully to observe the extreme limit of the shadow..... 'The star' he said 'is *Ho*; you may thus exactly determine mid-summer.'

..... He separately commanded the second brother Ho to reside at the west,..... and there respectfully to convoy the setting sun, and to adjust and arrange the completing labours of the autumn..... 'The star' he said 'is *Heu*; you may thus exactly determine mid-autumn'..... He further commanded the third brother Ho to reside in the northern region,..... and there to adjust and examine the changes of the winter..... 'The

star' said he 'is *Maou*; thus you may exactly determine mid-winter.'

In this extract we find the names of four stars given, i. e. *Neaou*, *Ho*, *Heu*, and *Maou*;—or, substituting the more modern names for *Neaou* and *Ho*, we have  *Sing*,  *Fang*,  *Heu*, and  *Maou*,\* pointing out respectively the equinoxes and solstices. But how these stars indicate the terms in question,—in what position or at what hour,—has hitherto baffled all expositors both native and foreign, satisfactorily to explain.

After a summary review of the various theories that have been proposed, Dr. Schlegel proceeds to expound his own, which amounts to something like this. The inadequacy of every scheme that has been proposed to make this legend synchronize with the reputed time of Yaou, shews it to be not a contemporary record, but a tradition handed down from remote antiquity. As to the manner in which the four stars above named are to point out their respective terms, he professes to follow literally the guidance of Yaou's commission. At spring, the astronomer is told "respectfully to receive as a guest the rising sun,"—implying sunrise as the time for observation; at the autumn term, the orders are "respectfully to convoy the setting sun," implying sunset as the time of observation; midsummer was to be determined by "the extreme length of the shadow," implying noon as the time of observation; and midwinter was to be determined by the culmination of the star *maou*, thus implying midnight as the time of observation. Having fixed on the *modus operandi*, it is obvious that the secular displacement of the seasons by precession, will not vitiate the theory; and it only remains to ascertain how the year stood in regard to the sidereal sphere,

\* *The Chinese Classics*, vol. iii, Prolegomena, p. 95.

\* It may be observed, these are the four constellations in the cycle of twenty-eight, that perpetually mark the four Sundays in rotation

at the time the constellations were named. This the author professes to have done by an elaborate and critical analysis of the names of all the asterisms known to Chinese astronomy. The conclusion to which he is led by this investigation, is that the cradle of astral science was in China, somewhere about the 35th degree of north latitude, and that the star **虯** *heu* or  $\beta$  Aquarii culminated at midnight on the winter solstice, and the star **房** *fang*, or  $\pi$  Scorpius consequently marked the vernal equinox. By calculation he finds that when these events took place, the equinoctial colure intersected the equator about 250 degrees in arrear of its present position. The star *fang* would then rise due east at 5 a. m. on the morning of the vernal equinox; and *maou*, or the Pleiades would set with the sun,—being consequently invisible,—on the evening of the autumnal equinox. There is a curious phenomenon attendant on this position, which Dr. Schlegel does not fail to press into his service; *i. e.* on the vernal equinox in question, the star  $\kappa$  Libræ, which would rise with the sun, bears the Chinese name **日** *jih*, or the "Sun" star; while A Tauri, that would set with the sun on the day of the autumnal equinox, bears the Chinese name **月** *yue*, or the "Moon" star. The next step was to ascertain at what period the above phenomena took place, which is a simple question of calculating the precession of the equinoxes. 250 degrees = 90,000 seconds, which divided by 50.2563" (the annual precession), gives a quotient of 17,908 years, since the vernal equinox was in the neighbourhood of Antares. But this is not all; for it is found that the precession is more rapid now than it was in the days of yore; which requires 808 years to be added to the above number,—making altogether 18,716 years. From this deduct the 18 centuries of the Christian era, and the result will be 16,916 B. C. as the date

of the foundation of Chinese or anography.

We have thus endeavoured to give as concisely as practicable, an outline of the system, to the elucidation of which Dr. Schlegel devotes some 940 quarto pages. That he has brought a vast amount of learning to bear on his subject, is apparent to the most superficial reader;—that he has discovered many curious facts, is beyond dispute;—and that he has succeeded in pulling to pieces the various schemes that have been thought out for the explanation of the anomalies of Chinese astronomy, is perfectly true; yet we confess the evidence he has adduced is of such a voluminous and complex character, that we have not gone over it with that care necessary to render a decided opinion of any great value.

It seems to our unscientific view that his arguments are frequently far-fetched; and that he rather appears in the rôle of a special pleader for his favorite theory, than as an impartial investigator. We will not press this point however, as it is not to be expected that he will give his readers a detail of the whole argument as it has passed through his mind. His object is only to set forth such aspects of the subject as have proved convincing to himself; and having done so, we are constrained to say that we think his structure rests on a very slender foundation. His arguments do not carry the weight of conviction to our mind.

The work is a perfect thesaurus of information regarding the astrology and astronomy of the ancients, illustrated by a profusion of interesting matter relating to the history, habits and customs of the Chinese. It would be vain to deny that he does occasionally make a point, in the discovery of some analogy or unexpected coincidence; but having mounted his hobby, he holds the reins so loosely, that it seems absolutely beyond con-

trol. We fear his attempt to explain the mysteries of the *Yih king*, and to give a rational interpretation to the cosmogony of that ancient volume, by an analysis of the starry firmament, will scarcely commend itself to the judgment of most readers.

We observe a want of care sometimes in his translations from the Chinese; but with all due candour, he generally gives the original text, thus enabling his readers to verify his statements; and we are bound to say that the mistranslations met with, have no important bearing on his general argument. We quote the following as an example, in which he has so far missed the meaning of the text, as to render it almost by a *contre-sens* :—

[蓋由未辨三代年世之謬也]故以堯時冬至謂在虛一度又未辨古法星張二宿左右相易也故謂冬至在虛危而夏至火已過中

This is an extract from the 9th book of the *Tseen yuēn leih lè*, giving the author's observations on Yih-hing's strictures on Wang Heaou-t'ung's theory of the precession of the equinoxes; in which he states that Yih-hing in his elaborate criticism, has not exactly hit the truth himself. Dr. Schlegel begins his quotation in the middle of a sentence, the preceding portion of which we have prefixed within brackets. With this omission he proceeds:— “When it is said that in the time of *Yao*, the winter solstice was in the 1st degree of the division *Heu* ( $\beta$  Aquarii), it is clear the ancient method is not understood; for, in that case, the two divisions *Sing* ( $\alpha$  Hydræ) and *Chang* ( $\nu \lambda \phi \mu \kappa \gamma$  Hydræ) ought to have exchanged places right and left. For that reason I say, when the winter solstice was in *Heu* and *Wei* ( $\beta$  Aquarii and  $\epsilon \vartheta$  Pegasi), then on the day of the summer solstice *Ho* ( $\pi$  Scorpionis) would

have already passed the *Meridian*.”\*

The true interpretation of this passage would in fact be more helpful to Dr. Schlegel's theory than what he has given. We venture the following version. Speaking of Yih-hing's misconception with regard to the precession of the equinoxes, the author continues:— [*This error arises from not having critically examined the secular changes during the Three dynasties;*] hence he places the winter solstice in the time of *Yao* in the first degree of *heu*. *Neither has he investigated the ancient laws shewing a mutual interchange of position between the two asterisms Sing and Chang;*† hence he says, when the winter solstice is between *heu* and *wei*, *ho* is already past the meridian at the summer solstice.”

Dr. Schlegel has some ingenious conjectures regarding the various cycles, and several very pertinent suggestions touching their origin. We demur, however, entirely to his calling the Chinese cycle of twelve animals,—i. e. Rat, Ox, Tiger, Hare, &c.—a sidereal Zodiac. This cycle is well known to most Chinese, and is used for a variety of purposes,—chiefly astrological; but we have never seen it included in the nomenclature of any portion of the stellar sphere. Nor can we admit anything like the antiquity he claims for it,—in China at least. One of the commonest uses of this cycle in me-

\* We give Dr. Schlegel's text of the above:—“Quand on dit que du temps de *Yao*, le solstice d'hiver était dans le 1er degré de la division *Hieu* ( $\beta$  du Verseau), c'est qu'on n'entend plus l'ancienne méthode; car, dans ce cas, les deux divisions *Sing* ( $\alpha$  Hydræ) et *Tchang* ( $\nu \lambda \phi \mu \kappa \gamma$  Hydræ) doivent avoir changé de place de gauche à droite. C'est pour cela que je dis que, quand le solstice d'hiver se trouvait en *Hieu* et *Wei* ( $\beta$  du Verseau et  $\epsilon \vartheta$  du Pégase), alors au jour du solstice d'été *Ho* ( $\pi$  du Scorpion) aura déjà passé le méridien.” p. 9.

† This curious fact of the mutual interchange of position of the two *sew*, is spoken of at some length in the preceding book of the native work.

diæval times, was for dating documents; but we do not know any instance of its application in this way much before the 13th century of our era. Indeed the historian Ma Twan-lin who lived about that time, describes the cycle—as being in use among the Kirghiz,—with a minuteness inconsistent with the idea that it was then generally known in China;—and points out its correspondence with the Chinese cycle *Tsze, Chow, Yin, Maou, &c.*, which is of undoubted antiquity. To prove the knowledge of the cycle during the T'ang, Dr. Schlegel quotes the sentence:—"The tiger seizes, departs and returns; the sign *Yin* is his evidence." This single quotation from an obscure author of no repute, is but a feeble basis on which to rest on argument. In one place at least he has inadvertently quoted an author on this point, who is really speaking of our western zodiac,—Aries, Taurus, &c. which was also introduced into China,

by the Buddhists during the T'ang dynasty or earlier, and again at a later period by the Mohammedans, when it was used officially by the Astronomical Board at the beginning of the Ming.

As a whole, we think the work might have been with advantage reduced to about a third part of its present size. With all its shortcomings and redundancies however, it may prove of great value to the student of Chinese, for the author's careful identification of all the stars on western globes, down to the sixth magnitude, with their equivalents on the Chinese sphere. Besides the catalogues in the body of the work, they are beautifully designed on the seven lithographed sheets of the Atlas, where the twenty-eight zodiacal groups, and the three large circumpolar constellations are printed in red, to distinguish them from the other groups, the positions of which are all referred to these leading asterisms.

*Conchyliologie Fluviale de la Province de Nanking* par le R. P. Heude de la Compagnie de Jesus, Missionnaire apostolique au Kiang-Nan. Premier Fascicule. Paris. Librairie F. Savy, 24, Rue Hautefeuille.

THIS is another contribution to the zoölogy of the Middle Kingdom. There have been not a few workers in this department of science among us of late years, and the cabinets of Europe have been enriched with numerous specimens from China. Frequently it happens that these have to be sent to Europe for identification, and it is well to find collectors who will take this trouble. We are glad however to see that the humble denizens of our creeks and rivers have found a chronicler in our fellow-resident Father Heude, who seems up to the time in his knowledge of these testaceans, familiarly known by the name of clams. The brochure before us is ostensibly the first part of a larger work on the shells of the province of Nanking, in which—from the specimen—we presume the author in

cludes the provinces of Keang-se, Gan-hwuy and Keang-soo. There is no preface or introduction of any kind, the author at once entering *in medias res*. We have eight artistic lithographed plates of the shells so familiar to our eyes in this part of China, and scientifically known as the Nayad family. Seventeen varieties of the *Unio*, one *Anodonto* and one *Myceptopus*, are represented to the life, accompanied by a severely technical description of each. We observe the learned author has modestly shunted his own name off one variety given in the *Journal de Conchyliologie* as *Unio Heudei*, which he has renamed as *Unio Rufescens*. We trust he may be able to carry on to completion his classified catalogue of the shells of mid-China.

馬可講義 *Ma k'o keäng é*, "Sermons on Mark;" by Rev. E. Faber; vols. ii & iii, 1875.

希伯來書註釋 *He pih laé shoo choó shih*, "Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews;" by Rev. Samuel Dodd, Shanghai, 1875.

信徒格言 *Sin t'oo kih yén*, "Pointed sayings of a Believer;" by Rev. A. E. Moule, Ningpo, 1875.

頌主聖詩 *Sung chò shing she*, "Sacred Songs of Praise;" by Rev. J. Lees, Shanghai, 1875.

In our May-June number we noticed the 1st. volume of Mr. Faber's excellent work on Mark's Gospel. Two more volumes have now reached us, bringing his expositions down to the end of the 12th chapter. Next to the translation of the Sacred Scriptures, we believe there is no branch of Christian literature in which a missionary may be more profitably engaged, than in the preparation of expository treatises on the text of the Holy record. There are already a goodly number of publications of this class in the native language, going far towards a commentary on the complete text, though varying much in the character and scope of the different parts by so many different authors. We set a high estimate on this result of Mr. Faber's long and earnest application.

We are fortunate in being able to draw the attention of our readers to another labourer in this department, who has just given to the public the fruit of years of careful study. The volume has an introductory discourse in seven leaves, in which the writer gives a detail of the various opinions held with regard to the questions as to,—by whom, and to whom the epistle was written,—when and where it was written, and in what language? Mr. Dodd's own leaning to Apollos as the author is obvious, and probably most of his readers will be led to the same conclusion. The remarks on these questions are followed by a summary of the scope of the epistle. A novel feature in this commentary is the introduction of a series of pictorial illustrations before the 9th chapter, giving the general

ally accepted representations of the ark in the wilderness with its appurtenances, the golden candlestick, the table with shew-bread, sacrifices, priests, &c. Such representations may be very beneficial to the student, in enabling him to realize the scenes and events of the text.

Mr. Moule has given us the fervid utterances of a pious soul; being selections from a diary written last century, by an English divine who entered the ministry in advanced life. Being the heartfelt experience of a man who looked on religion as a reality, it is calculated to be very helpful to the earnest inquirer, as revealing the daily thoughts of one who could say,—"I know in whom I have believed." The extracts are classified under the headings—Confession of Sin,—The Bible,—God,—Original Sin,—Repentance,—Jesus Christ,—Faith,—Good deeds,—Christians,—Love,—Patience,—Prayer,—The Holy Communion,—Preaching,—and Heaven.

Mr. Lees' hymnals consist of free translations of ten pieces from Sankey's *Songs and Solos*, and seem well adapted to the native ear, when sung to the original music. Beginning with the very popular hymn "Jesus of Nazareth passeth by," this is followed by—"Whosoever will,—Jesus the water of life will give,—The great Physician,—I hear thy welcome voice,—Safe in the arms of Jesus,—The Lord will provide,—More to follow,—Hold the fort,—Jewels. May these sacred songs tend to nourish among the natives of China, some of those holy feelings and aspirations, to which they have so largely ministered in Christian countries.

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